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'ENGLISH IS MUST TO US': LANGUAGES AND
EDUCATION IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, KENYA

By

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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DECLARATION

This thesis is my own original work and has not been submitted for a degree at any another university. All sources have been acknowledged.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the interaction between context and attitude in the language-in-education experiences of multilingual refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northern Kenya, East Africa. The aim was to discover how they respond to policy and practice in language-in-education and the macro-societal influences that affect their attitudes. I wanted to find out the realities the refugee learners face as a corollary of the policy and practice, and their responses towards these realities. I used an approach based on Critical Ethnography to collect and analyse the data. This generated a diversity of data, allowing for triangulation. I drew on several theoretical frameworks to explore the diverse themes emerging from the data: Cummins' (2000) Transformative Pedagogy, Phillipson's (1992, 1999) Linguistic Imperialism, and Kachru's (1983, 1994) World Englishes.

I found that the provision of language education for the refugees follows the mainstream Kenyan policy, a relic of colonialism, whereby English is the medium of instruction from Class Four onwards. Mother tongues or Swahili may, in theory, be used for the lower classes but the practice is often not so. Many refugees have a love-hate relationship with English. They find it hard to master, yet like it as a passport to resettlement, jobs and further education. A few appreciate Swahili but many of the Sudanese find it burdensome and unnecessary. Arabic, French and Mother tongues are both appreciated and disliked, but most find their usefulness reduced. The learners face harsh realities, as most not only have to learn the new languages but also have them used as media of instruction. They devise a range of strategies to respond to these realities, for instance, making their way into English Language support classes even if by trickery and impersonation. This study seeks to contribute to the research literature by exploring how context and attitude affect each other in the education of learners in the temporary setting of a refugee camp.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BICS- Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills

CALP- Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

CRE- Christian Religious Education

EAL- English as an additional language

DRC-the Democratic Republic of Congo (in this thesis also referred to simply as Congo)

GRE- Graduate Record Examination

GTZ- German Technical Co-operation

IOM- International Organisation for Migration

IRC- International Rescue Committee

JRS- Jesuit Refugee Services

KAELP-Kakuma Advanced English Language Programme

LWF/DWS-Lutheran World Federation/ Department of World Services

SPLM- Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement

TOEFL- Test of English as a Foreign Language

UNHCR- United Nations' High Commission for Refugees

UNISA- University of South Africa

WUSC- World University Service, Canada

Br-Burundi

Con -Congolese

Er- Eritrean

Eth-Ethiopian

Ke-Kenyan

SB-Somali Bantu

Som-Somali

Rw-Rwanda

Sud-Sudanese

D25-Diary entry page 25

E16-Essay entry page 16

Interviewees

(These are pseudonyms)

AA, Som, M- Abdullah Ahmed, Somali, Male

ABA, Sud, F -Achol Bol Ayar, Sudanese, Female

AW, Ke, MT- Andrew Wamalwa, Kenyan, Male Teacher

BB, Rw, MT- Blaise Bizimungu, Rwandese, Male Teacher

BF, Con, M- Fabian Bienvenue, Congolese, Male

BOO, Sud, MT- Bob Okoth Orienyi, Sudanese, Male Teacher

CH, Con, M- Charles Hamid, Congolese, Male

DA, Sud, F –Demie Ajok, Sudanese, Female

DE, Sud, MT-Deng Adhola- Sudanese , Male Teacher

DT, Eth, M- Demese Gabre, Ethiopian, Male

EB, Con, M- Erick Buteko, Congolese, Male

FE, Sud F- Fani Eliza- Sudanese, Female

FM, Sud, F- Francesca Mani, Sudanese, Female

FM, Rw, F- Florence Mazimpaka, Rwandese, Female

IM, Ke, MT-Ian Mwangi, Kenyan, Male Teacher

JA, Sud, M- Jeremiah Ater, Sudanese, Male

JP, Rw, MT- Jean Pierre, Rwandese, Male Teacher

JY, Som, F-Jama Yussuf, Somali, Female

MA, Ke, FT- Mary Atieno, Kenyan, Female Teacher

MDM, SB, M- Mahmoud Dahir Mugana, Somali Bantu, Male

MO, Ke, MT - Mitchell Owino, Kenyan, Male Teacher

NB, Sud, M- Nyol Bol, Sudanese, Male

SW, Sud, M- Simon Wako, Sudanese, Male

TA, Sud, F- Terry Adawo, Sudanese, Female

WO, Con, MT- Wan Odet, Congolese, Male Teacher

Focus groups

FG1-Sudanese elders

FG2-Teachers' Upgrade

FG3- KAELP Class

FG4- Education office

FG 5 –Church congregation

FG6- Kakuma Refugee Secondary School Staff Room

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Multilingualism is used in this thesis to refer to the situation where more than one language is used in an area as well as to individuals that speak more than one language. I do not distinguish between **bilingualism** and **trilingualism** but use the term as a cover term. This is to simplify matters and because some writers such as Baker (2000) refer to bilingualism as a cover term but I have always associated ‘bi’ with ‘two’. In East Africa where this study is conducted many people speak their own mother tongue, a community language such as Swahili and usually there is a state of neighbourhood bilingualism where they speak another mother tongue. In addition, some are proficient to differing levels in English, French, Arabic or Portuguese.

Context: Context is the location of something, whether concrete or abstract. I use it to mean the linguistic or extralinguistic environment of some concept whether immediately or further away (see Trask 1993), when these are regarded as being in some way linked with it. Thus physical, socio-political, ideological links to language in the camp all comprise part of its context.

Power Structure: I follow Cummins (2007) to refer to **power structure** as the division of status and resources in the society and also the ways in which media discourse is utilised to justify and maintain the status quo.

Attitudes: Attitudes are used to mean the feelings and thoughts towards issues or entities. That is, the mindset of the refugees concerning certain issues such as languages.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study is an ethnographic exploration of the language-in-education attitudes of refugees in Kakuma Camp in Northern Kenya, East Africa. I investigate the contextual issues that influence and contribute towards shaping these attitudes. I then seek out the responses of the refugees and their educators towards these influences.

For a long time the debate on how best to educate multilingual children has raged across continents (See, for example, Baker 2001; Bamgbose 2004; Brock-Utne 2002, 2006; Cummins 2000a,b, 2001; Canagarajah 1999; Crawford 1995; Hornberger 2003; Mazrui 2002; Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1986; Pennycook 1998; Phillipson 1992, 1999; Rubagumya 1990; Li 2002, Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2006; Williams 1993). Some recommend immersion into the L2 (in most cases, English) as the best medium of instruction, (Genesee 1987; Schlesinger 1991) while others opt for other languages including the learners' L1 as the best way to ensure equity and access (Bamgbose 2004; Cummins 2000a). What, however, is the view of the learners themselves on this debate? Where, in these deliberations, is the voice of those caught up in situations of being refugees? What factors and experiences shape their attitudes? What is the situation like for refugee children in a temporary, multilingual camp context, drawn from diverse nationalities? What realities do they face and what responses do they put in place to deal with them?

This study, therefore, aimed to find out the nature of the linguistic educational experiences of refugees in multilingual Kakuma camp in Northern Kenya. I endeavoured to find out how the refugee learners in the camp perceived the use of

language in their education and the entrenched ideologies (Tollefson 1991) and socio-political factors that overtly or covertly influence these attitudes. Being from different nationalities there is a wide variety of language policies in education that they have experienced since, and even before, joining the camp system. So I undertook to find out what they think of the language policies and practices in their education. I sought to know if they would suggest any amendments. I endeavoured to identify learning strategies that seem effective in sustaining and optimising involvement and achievement (Ushioda 2001) in their challenging circumstances. I gauged these in the light of developments in theory and research, particularly in the transformative pedagogy theoretical frameworks in Cummins (2000a) and linguistic imperialism in Phillipson (1992, 1999). The critical ethnography methodology in Canagarajah (1999) was used to be able to source out nuances that might not be evident to other approaches that do not require a rigorous participant observation.

The basic aim was to consider these attitudes and strategies and to make recommendations as to what can be done to institute positive change to enable the refugee learners to make the most of the situation they find themselves in and help change what might be problematic practices for more dynamic ones. Failing to find in the literature a theoretical framework that focuses on the language education of refugees in a camp specifically, I also endeavoured to contribute suggestions towards developing such a theory. My proposal is that a learner-centred perspective must be included in a theory that would satisfactorily cater for refugees in the temporary setting of a camp. To achieve this, awareness of veiled prejudices ought to be created in all stakeholders in refugee education.

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter one is an overview of the thesis, looking at the problem statement, and justification as well as the background to Kakuma Refugee Camp. Chapter two is a review of related literature building up towards a theoretical framework. Chapter three is a discussion of chosen theoretical frameworks and chapter four, the methodology chapter, justifies the critical ethnographic approach.

In chapter five I start on the data chapters, examining the role of English in the camp. Chapter six, which examines the role of other languages and the attitudes surrounding them, follows next. Chapter seven is an analysis of the realities faced by the refugee learners in their education and various responses to these realities.

Chapter eight is a discussion chapter. Here I take a general review of issues raised in the study and analyse, synthesise and evaluate them in the light of current theories of language teaching and social justice. Chapter nine gives a summary of the thesis and recommendations for further study. I then have some appendices that show maps and other important information.

Before I state the problem and go into an analysis of the issues arising, however, I start by examining the setting.

1.0 The Setting: Kakuma Refugee Camp

Kakuma Refugee Camp is located in Turkana District of the Rift Valley Province in North-western Kenya. It is situated at the foot of a range of hills in Kakuma division, which boasts a single winding tarmac road that seems to disappear into

the range as it winds its way to the border with Sudan, via Lokkichoggio. A few clusters of *manyatta* (thatched houses built of rafters) belonging to the local Turkana pastoralists can be seen scattered along this road. The inhabitants can occasionally be seen, dressed in their traditional attire (if at all), herding their cattle, goats, camels and donkeys.

The climate is semi-arid thus very hot and dry. Rain falls only once or twice a year but when it does it frequently leads to flooding and then roads are cut off for days and homesteads swept away. This often affects the camp whereby schools and houses have been washed away severally, causing great loss and suffering to an already distressed people. More typically, dust storms rise in the sky sweeping away stuff in their wake including entire houses and roofs of the better-built buildings in the camp. The area is generally too hot for agriculture (sometimes up to 44 degrees Centigrade) so the Turkana practise transhumance (travelling from place to place in search of water and pastures) to feed and water their herds.

The camp is divided into three main sub-camps- Kakuma I, Kakuma II and Kakuma III. Each sub-camp is divided into administrative zones, which are the main organisational reference points (see maps at end of section). It is a populous site bustling with activity especially in the markets, feeding zones, water collection points and schools. Kakuma I was mainly divided according to nationalities, mainly Sudanese (Nuer and Dinka), Ethiopians and Eritreans but with further expansion into Kakuma II and III we have mixed nationalities living side by side. However, for ease of administration the zones are subdivided into

‘groups’ mainly formed of national communities and headed by leaders from these communes.

1.01 Establishment of the Camp

The camp was established in July 1992 when a group of Sudanese were brought in from Lokkichoggio. Fleeing war between the Arabic government in the north and the black population in the south of Sudan, a group consisting of around 23,000 including 16,000 ‘lost boys’ found their way to the Kenyan border at Lokkichoggio. Most had initially been in camps in Ethiopia but when the government of Mengistu fell they no longer felt safe or welcome with the new government in Ethiopia. These unaccompanied minors stayed for three months at Loki where some of their families (or what was left of them) joined them, as well as other Sudanese who were also fleeing the continual fighting and bombings in their country. Due to the high number of Sudanese arrivals in Kenya, a camp was set up in Kakuma to cater for their needs. For the first one and a half years the camp was basically composed of only Sudanese refugees.

In 1991 groups of Ethiopians started arriving in Kenya. Due to the coup d’état in their country many fled for their lives and were initially accommodated at Oda and Walda camps in North Eastern Kenya. When the Kenyan government decided to close down all camps except two- Kakuma and Dadaab, these Ethiopians were transferred to Kakuma. These Ethiopians were largely different from the Sudanese refugees they found in the camp. Many were prosperous and enterprising. They set up shops and restaurants and other businesses. They also set up their own library (The Ethiopian Refugee Library) with their own initiative and resources,

until Book Aid came in to help expand it. They mainly occupy Zone Five together with their neighbours the Eritreans. Most speak Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia but some Eritreans refuse to speak it, in protest, though they know it. Many Ethiopians have since been repatriated and others resettled, but a few remain that are really prosperous and appear reluctant to leave their businesses behind.

The closure of other camps and the genocide in the Great Lakes Region of Africa led to other nationalities joining the camp. The Somalis were brought in and placed in Zone Seven, Kakuma 1, but due to flooding in 1997 they were relocated to Zone Five. Since the war in Somalia has continued raging the number has become bigger and so they are found in other locations in the camp as well. They are the second largest group next to the Sudanese.

The Ugandans mainly arrived in 1994 many fleeing the Lord's Resistance Army that is frequently accused of abducting children and devastating homesteads as it fights the Ugandan government. They are in a minority though and occupy Zone Five of Kakuma One. The Congolese, the Rwandese and Burundians also arrived around 1994 and settled in Zone Five.

Kakuma 1 being full, there was need to expand further and Kakuma 11 was set up in 1998. It mainly consists of two groups from Somalia- the Somalis and Somali Bantus. It is also a trading centre for Kakuma 1 Zone Four and Kakuma 11 and 111. However, many of the homestead plots have become deserted as some refugees prefer to move to the more occupied Kakuma 1 and others were resettled.

In the Phase Two of Kakuma 11 we have some more Sudanese. Some are suspected to be 'recyclers' (those who go back and come back to register as though they had never been here before, mainly, to enable them get double share of food rations). It has a population of about three thousand.

Age statistics report

		0-4	5-17	18-26	27-59	Over 59	Total	%
Burundi	Male	7	30	24	49	0	110	0.135%
	Female	12	27	17	24	-	80	0.098%
	Total	19	57	41	73	0	190	0.234%
Congolese	Male	38	119	94	154	4	409	0.504%
	Female	41	89	47	65	5	247	0.304%
	Total	79	208	141	219	9	656	0.809%
Eritrea	Male	1	4	10	25	0	40	0.049%
	Female	1	5	-	10	-	16	0.019%
	Total	2	9	10	35	0	56	0.069%
Ethiopia	Male	196	558	770	1,308	11	2,843	3.506%
	Female	173	372	377	448	8	1,378	1.699%
	Total	369	930	1,147	1,756	19	4,221	5.205%
Namibia	Male	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.001%
	Female	0	0	0	-	-	0	0%
	Total	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.001%
Tanzania	Male	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.001%
	Female	0	0	0	-	0	0	0%
	Total	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.001%
Rwanda	Male	23	51	35	72	1	182	0.224%
	Female	29	44	19	39	0	131	0.161%
	Total	52	95	54	111	1	313	0.386%
Somalia	Male	752	1,843	1,297	1,779	100	5,771	7.117%
	Female	682	1,690	1,010	1,400	119	4,901	6.044%
	Total	1,434	3,533	2,307	3,179	219	10,672	13.161%
Sudan	Male	3,370	13,565	13,118	7,732	401	38,186	47.093%
	Female	3,096	10,050	4,619	7,989	588	26,342	32.486%
	Total	6,466	23,615	17,737	5,721	989	64,528	79.579%
Uganda	Male	33	77	53	97	3	263	0.324%
	Female	26	81	28	49	1	185	0.228%
	Total	59	158	81	146	4	448	0.552%
Grand Total		8,480	28,605	21,518	11,242	1,241	81,086	
%		10.45%	35.277%	26.537%	13.864%	1.530%	100.0%	

Figure 1: Kakuma population. Source: UNHCR Kakuma

1.02 The People in Kakuma

Kakuma is host to over 80, 000 people, the majority of whom are Sudanese. As we have seen, we also have Somalis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Rwandese,

Burundians, Congolese, and Ugandans. This population is not always constant as there are days when it grows by as much as 500 persons per day, when a neighbouring country is in difficulty such as war or famine. There is also some movement away, arising mainly from resettlement but also, rarely, from repatriation. This movement was intense when a peace agreement was reached between the Sudanese government and the SPLM in 2005. However, the immediate death of the SPLM leader, John Garang made some Sudanese reluctant to repatriate. Nevertheless currently there is more movement away from the camp in 2007 than there has been in the last twelve years. There is a host of UN and Aid workers and there are always some visitors around attending to the various needs of the refugees. These occupy two fairly secure compounds set up for their safety.

I have described elsewhere how languages are used in various settings in Kakuma (Khasandi-Telewa, in press). Basically, Sudanese use a lot of Juba-Arabic to communicate among the different linguistic groups. Congolese interchange between French and Swahili. French was usually preferred in discussing formal issues and in church services, but some homes use it as their main language. Swahili was the preferred community language used in intra-group interactions at such as at markets and at water collection points. I did not hear Lingala and the other Congolese languages used much though, perhaps because Swahili has gained strength as it is very commonly used in Kenya.

The Somalis just used Somali all the time except for religious settings in which Arabic was used. Amharic and Tigrinya were commonly used among the Ethiopians and Eritreans. Since they are the successful businessmen running the

main hotels and shop, most of the Ethiopians used English so as to speak to their customers of varied origins. I noticed an Ethiopian speaking Turkana to a Turkana businesswoman that had brought some wares to sell to him for his shop. Thus languages are used in a complex way as people try to appropriate different languages for their ends.

1.03 Education in Kakuma

Kakuma has twenty-four primary schools and three secondary schools¹. The primary schools are more likely to be dominated by one main community but the secondary schools are international and multilingual. We also have a number of nursery schools, Adult Education Centres and centres for dropout girls. Vocational training is offered in Don Bosco centres as well as other voluntary organisations' centres. The University of South Africa runs distance-learning education for those wishing to pursue higher education.

English is the officially prescribed language of use in schools, but Kiswahili is commonly used too as are the various mother tongues and Juba Arabic. Our concern in this study is basically with educational experiences, particularly

¹ Rapid changes took place when the long awaited Peace accord between the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and government of Sudan was signed in Nairobi in 2005. The attitude to the Sudanese in the camp changed as they were expected to be anxious to go back home. Many Aid agencies refocused their interests to try to resettle returnees into Southern Sudan. One secondary school and a few primary schools were closed and it was expected that more would follow suit and in fact the camp would more or less close down as the Sudanese were the majority. However, the anticipated mass movement of Sudanese exiles back into their country was hampered by the sudden demise of the SPLM leader Dr. John Garang in a plane crash. Once more the uncertain situation of seemingly endless waiting continues in Kakuma camp.

language use in education. In this I mean both the languages that are used as media of instruction as well as those taught as subjects

1.04 Administration

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) runs the camp with the help of aid partners, each charged with a certain responsibility. For instance, education is under the Lutheran World Federation/Department for World Services (LWF/DWS), Adult Education under the IRC (International Rescue Committee), and sanitation and health under the IRC. We also have the World Food Programme in charge of feeding refugees, the Jesuit Refugee Services offering scholarships, counselling, among other help and The International Committee of the Red Cross that helps with tracing and reuniting families. The Windle Trust offers English Language Support and scholarships; The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) is in charge of resettlement, the German Technical Co-operation Agency (GTZ) is responsible for re-forestation and supply of fuel and a variety of smaller organisations, mainly voluntary, offer valuable financial, social and psychological assistance.

1.1 Introduction to the Study

This section now previews the main issues investigated in this thesis. I here develop the statement of the problem, the research questions, justification and scope and limitations. I start off with the problem statement.

1.11 Statement of the Problem

This study investigates the attitudes of multilingual refugee learners in a camp context towards language use in their education. It seeks to examine the extra-linguistic factors and embedded ideologies that appear to influence them, in order

to establish how context impacts on attitudes. It discusses their language educational experiences with a view to establishing realities that face the learners and how they deal with them. It then posits recommendations that could lead to a more beneficial theory of language pedagogy in such multilingual contexts and hence to more valuable practices.

1.12 Research Questions

Since this is an ethnographic study I started out with general areas I wanted to investigate. I then refined these into questions based on the categories that emerged from the data gathered during fieldwork. The study therefore seeks answers to the following questions that from the data collected appear significant to the refugee learners' learning experience:

- What realities do the multilingual refugee learners in a temporary camp context face as a corollary of the use of language in their education?
- What attitudes do the learners have towards the policy and practice surrounding the use of language in their education?
- What extra-linguistic factors and ideologies have shaped and do shape these attitudes in the camp context?
- What responses are, and can be employed to deal with these realities in order to sustain and optimise learning for refugee children in the camp context?
- What recommendations can I posit that have implications for a beneficial theory of multilingual language pedagogy?

1.1.2 Justification

The issue of what is the best language to educate EAL² groups in is much debated (See Cummins 1984, 1996, 2000a; Genessee 1987). Theoretically, there is no shortage of explanations concerning how best to educate them, either bearing in mind, or in spite of their linguistic diversity. However, it was also time we heard from them what *they* consider the real issues in their language-in-education. This could only be achieved by in-depth ethnographic studies, such as this one that gave prominence to the learners themselves and not to what others think is best for them or even what others think are the main issues concerning their language-in-education. I aimed to analyse and situate their opinions in theoretical models of the language learning process among multilingual learners seeing I could not find any that were specific to their inimitable situation. Likewise, what the refugees in Kakuma have to face in their education is influenced by ideologies from far and wide. A better understanding of these issues has implications for the learners themselves as well as their parents, teachers, and other stakeholders in their education, on how they might take action.

Canagarajah (1999) notes that ‘the dearth of empirical data on ELT in the periphery, and on the perspectives of the periphery students and teachers, is conveyed by none other than the centre-based scholars who have published on this subject (Holliday 1994: 10, Phillipson 1992: 308)’. Whereas these, and others have called for more research to give this perspective, they also come under heavy criticism for their conclusions drawn from methods that could not give the true

² For ease of reference ‘EAL learners’ is used in this thesis to cover all those for whom English is an additional language whether as a second, third or other extra language. They are variously referred to in the literature as ESL, ESOL, EFL etc.

picture of what they claimed to be researching: ‘Phillipson’s distanced library research, and Holliday’s fleeting images of periphery classrooms, point to the need for grounded knowledge construction on this subject’ (Canagarajah, *ibid* p46).

This study is, therefore, a contribution to information to help fill in this gap of empirical data from the periphery. It also contributes data to shed more light on the theoretical debate concerning language use in the education of refugees. As Hornberger (2002:30) advises ‘Multilingual language practices are essentially about opening ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible.’ Thus it has implications for teachers in primary, secondary and post secondary institutions. It also speaks to the research community, in turn concerning policy makers and English subject advisors, curriculum designers, ELT materials developers and educational publishers (See Newfield and Stein 2000))

Early’s (1992) study of ESL learners’ experiences points to the fact that ‘(1) ESL students’ perceptions of their educational experiences are an enormously rich source of data which will provide...possible answers to many of the problems they encounter; (2) that if we can identify critical themes for ESL learners’ success in school we will be better able to form critical research questions such as: “Which types of tasks take the most time?” “How can we support them?” “What study strategies should all ESL learners be taught to use?” “What role do factors such as self-esteem and self confidence have and how can we promote them?” (p 274). This present study follows on from Early to help refugee learners raise

similarly important questions that can aid their education and that of others experiencing related circumstances. It also gives opportunity to the refugee learners to share their educational experiences with others, especially the strategies they use to maximise learning.

It was hoped also, that this study would help more refugee learners overcome obstacles that face them and redress their current dropout rate. I chose an ethnographic orientation for the collection of data to contribute to this knowledge. This enabled me to get a fuller picture than I would have if I only asked directly for the views as expressed through structured interviews or questionnaires. Canagarajah (*ibid*: p47) observes this of ethnography:

Ethnographic research focuses on culture as well as discourse as practised by members of a particular community. It is also well known for considering the behaviour and attitudes of community members, as displayed in the local, everyday level of social interaction. It has a tradition of understanding cultural life in naturalistic sites, amidst the diverse social forces that influence it. The approach helps us to understand ELT and English from the perspective of peripheral communities, and enables an analysis of the socio-political factors that shape learning in the day-to-day life of community and classroom.

This study is distinctive in its contribution of data on the views of learners from a multilingual camp in northern Kenya, where the languages involved are numerous and of great diversity. Many parallel studies deal with a large group of minority students from one major country or community. For instance, many deal with the case of Spanish-speaking immigrant children in the United States or Canada. In this particular study we have refugees from many different nationalities and

nations, who have had diverse experiences, some very traumatic. Some of the refugees have gone through other countries before arriving in Kenya and have had some taste of education in those countries as well. Thus, here I contribute to literature on various African contexts too. I expect the study to inform educators dealing with multilingual, multicultural and multinational learners all over the world, especially refugees. The original perspective this study contributes, therefore, is that it enables us to see how context and attitudes interweave and affect each other in the temporary setting of a refugee camp. The harsh realities experienced by refugees in the unstable context of a camp lead to a significant intertwining of attitudes and context that I seek to explore and contribute to the literature. The chosen critical ethnographical approach has made it possible to draw out and analyse these interweavings.

1.1.3 Scope and Limitations

I studied the experiences of refugee learners in Kakuma Refugee Camp in northern Kenya. There are two camps in Kenya- Kakuma and Dadaab, but I chose to study one in order to concentrate and capture nuances by close observation. I preferred Kakuma to Dadaab since Kakuma offers a greater linguistic diversity than Dadaab, which is over 90% Somali.

There were three secondary schools in Kakuma Camp but I chose to concentrate my daily observations in only one (Kakuma Refugee Secondary School) and focus on only ten students. I cannot therefore claim generalizability but believe that the small number enabled a more in-depth study, (as extrapolated in the methodology section). However, I did visit the other two schools in the final stages of the

fieldwork to conduct interviews that gave me a broader context to view the findings.

Another limitation of this study is that rapid changes can take place during research that can have major implications for the study. For instance, in this study when the SPLA and the government of Sudan signed a peace accord in 2005, this had a major impact on the Sudanese refugees. Many young people were willing to go home after many years to rebuild the nation. The UNHCR and its partner agencies moved attention from Kakuma and started setting up bases in Southern Sudan to help repatriate returnees. One secondary school and some primary schools were closed in the camp. However, within a few days the SPLA leader John Garang was involved in a fatal plane crash. This led to changes in perspective again as many became reluctant to repatriate.

Similarly the events in Darfur in Sudan with atrocities committed against part of the Sudanese population by *Janjaweed* militia, ostensibly with help from the government also led to more refugees arriving in Kakuma and others being reluctant to go back home.

1.2 Summary

This chapter was concerned with introducing the study. I described the problem and then stated it as being concerned with seeking to determine the attitudes of multilingual refugee learners towards language use in their education, and to discuss the socio-political factors and embedded ideologies that appear to influence them. It investigates the linguistic educational experiences of multilingual refugee children with a view to establishing the realities the learners

encounter and how they respond to them. It then posits recommendations that could lead to a more productive theory of language pedagogy in multilingual situations and hence to more beneficial practices.

I also justified the study as being important in elucidating the views of the learners themselves and thus contributing to authentic data for theoretical debates on these issues. I finished by stating the scope and limitations of the study.

Overall, this chapter introduced the issues of concern in the study and the locale of the research. In the next chapter I review related literature as a further background to the issues raised in this thesis.

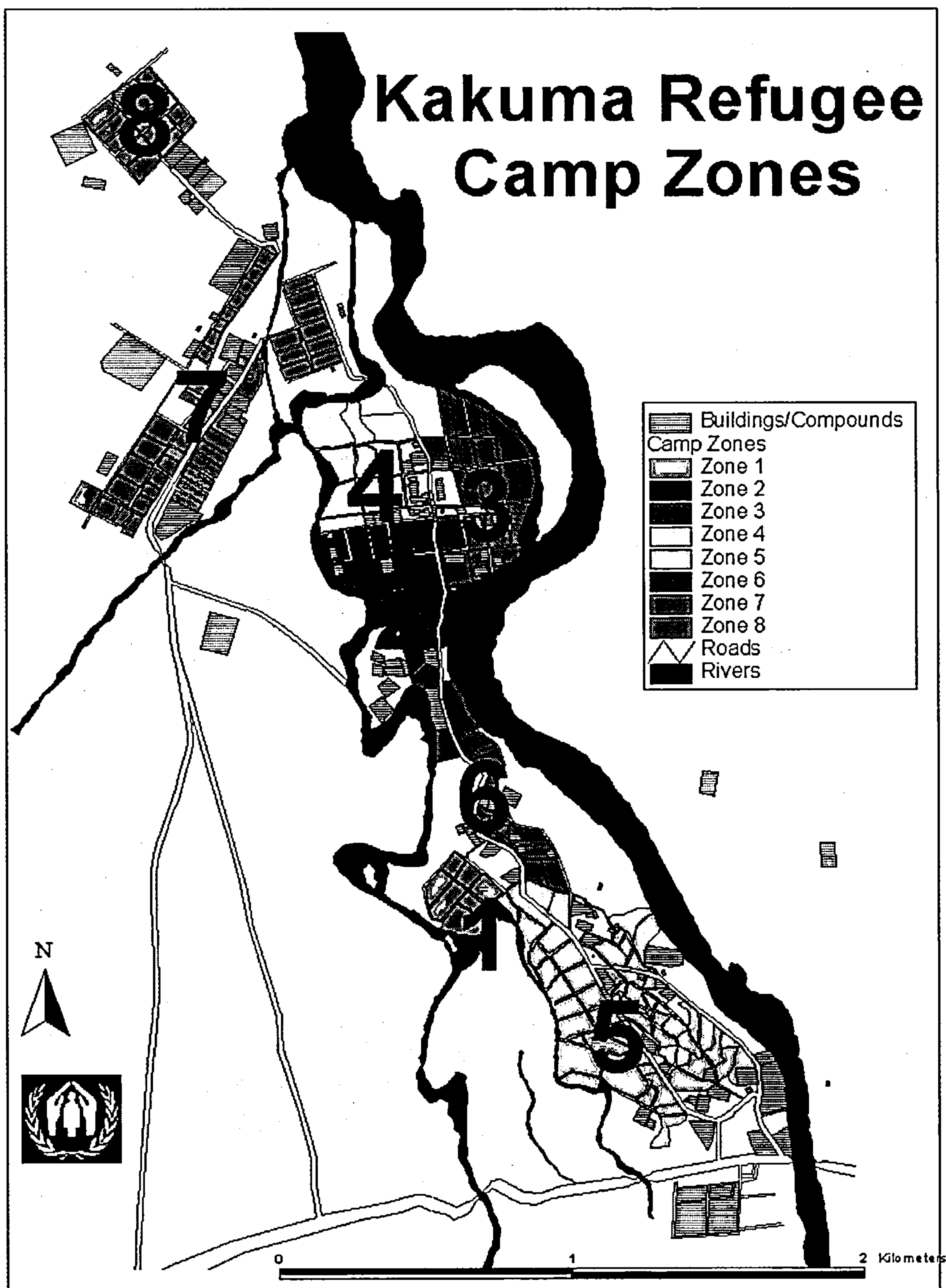
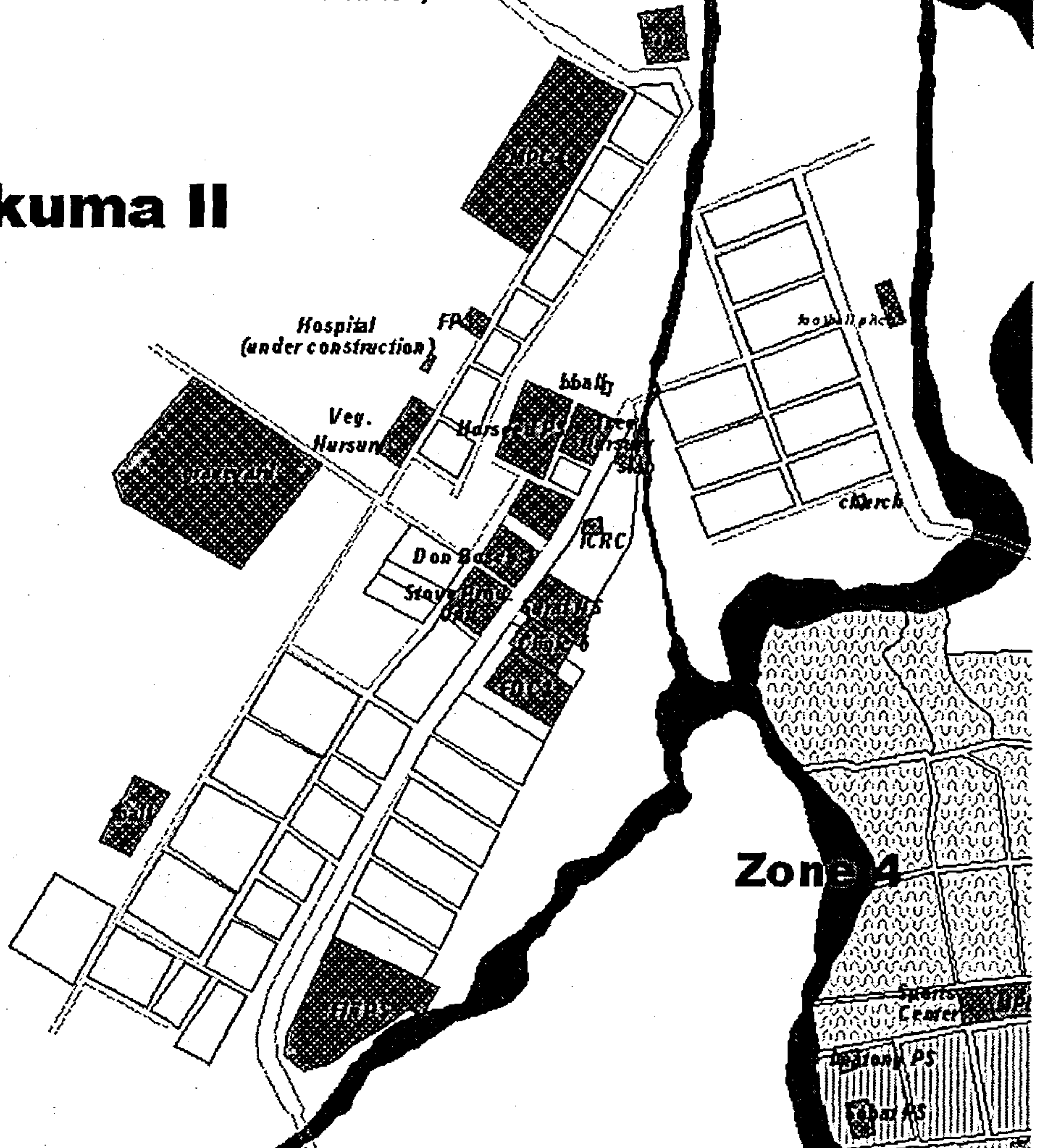


Figure 2: Kakuma Camp Zones.

Source: Jesuit Refugee Services Kakuma Office

ZONES 7 and 8



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CHAPTER TWO: ISSUES FROM THE LITERATURE

This chapter is a review of related literature in search of a suitable theoretical framework. I reviewed literature concerning aspects of language educational experiences of multilingual learners generally that has relevance to this study. Some of the literature was drawn from minority language speakers in English speaking countries such as the USA and some is from Africa and elsewhere. However, the issues concerning language experiences in education in countries such as the USA are very relevant to our case since many of the refugees in Kakuma face the option of resettlement in other countries, especially USA and Canada. This does have an impact on their attitudes towards language in education and towards their interest in language education. There has been very little research done in the area of the language and education of refugees in camps. What is found is usually education of immigrants in their new countries after resettlement (for instance much of the work by Cummins e.g. 1984, 2000). That is why in fact I decided to research this area so as to contribute to this area. I give my opinions about these debates as I also re-examine what scholars have to say about each other's work.

I, therefore, examined literature under the following general themes that provide insights for the research questions of this study:

- Attitudes learners have towards language policy and practice
- Socio-political factors and experiences that shape these attitudes
- Realities multilingual refugee learners face as a corollary of the use of language in their education

- Responses to deal with these realities in order to sustain and optimise learning

The literature to be reviewed is quite diverse, but the unifying aspect is that it has to do with educational experiences of multilingual children in various contexts. After reviewing these I will be in a better position to show how the unique context of the camp impacts on language attitudes and language learning.

2.0 Linguicism

The first aspect of literature I reviewed is that concerned with attitudes towards language policy and practice. A major part of this study is based on the work of Phillipson (1992, 1999) who, together with Skutnabb-Kangas coined the word ‘linguicism’ to account for what they perceived as the murder of smaller and weaker languages by bigger and more powerful ones. Phillipson (1992) defines *linguicism* as ‘ideologies, structures, practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups, which are defined on the basis of language’ (p47). He defines English linguistic imperialism as a specific type of linguicism where ‘the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continual reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages’ (*op cit*).

He delves deep into the archives of history and demonstrates that the project of teaching English in the colonies has been responsible for the long history of linguistic imperialism. He assesses the motives behind ELT right from pre-colonial days and finds them responsible for ideologies and discourses of

dominance. With apparently good intention, the legendary figure Robinson Crusoe sought to teach Friday his language so as to make him useful and handy to him. According to Phillipson the Centre has been continuing this ever since, through the 'tireless' efforts of the British Council and other aid agencies among other methods. He questions why Crusoe did not rather learn Friday's language but assumed his was superior and that Friday needed to learn it in order to progress.

Phillipson asserts that this lesson to Friday was the foundation for what is now the structural and cultural inequality between English and other languages. He urges us not to visualise colonialism as a reign that has ended but to bear in mind that it was the foundation of present day linguistic imbalances. Pennycook (1994, 1998) takes this further, and also muses whether the present day teacher of English is not merely continuing Crusoe's project. Digging into historical documents, he declares that this is the way to uncover and understand ...

historical aspects of colonialism and ELT in their own rationalities, and then to trace the continuance of these rationalities into the present day. This is not, then, an exercise in 'retrospective vindictiveness' (Said, 1993, pxxiv) but an attempt to map out the discourses of colonialism as they relate to English and then to trace these genealogically into the present. One of the key themes [of his book] is the continuity of the cultural constructs of colonialism (Pennycook 1998:27).

The ensuing discourses, then, are major contributors to the beginning of English linguicism that has spread itself and posed a huge threat to small languages world

over. It has done and does this through ELT and TESOL ideologies, the commonest ones being:

- English is best taught monolingually;
- The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker
- The earlier English is introduced, the better the results;
- The more English is taught the better the results;
- If other languages are used much, standards will drop. (Phillipson, 1999:208)

These tenets have been adhered to with terrible outcomes for the languages in the periphery. On closer scrutiny, he asserts, they should instead be labelled as:

- The monolingual fallacy
- The native speaker fallacy
- The early start fallacy
- The maximum exposure fallacy; and
- The subtractive fallacy

These fallacies have been continually demonstrated in the writings of Cummins (1984, 1986, 2000a and b, 2001). Nevertheless, the TESOL project has propagated them in theory and practice so thoroughly that the periphery itself has swallowed them at its own peril, and is thus responsible for some of its own linguisticide. It is not uncommon in Africa, to find parents taking their children to nursery schools that teach in English. When I was looking for a place for my daughter in a nursery school in Njoro, Kenya, a teacher tried to impress me by explaining that children only spoke in English in her school. In practice I could hear them playing in different languages including Swahili and Kikuyu. Here we find a good instance of the 'early start fallacy' combined with the 'maximum exposure fallacy'. In fact,

it also illustrates the ‘subtractive fallacy’ as it is believed that by limiting the use of other languages, English will be learned better. In this thesis I find discourses highly influenced by these ideologies being propagated. The very choice of language to educate the refugees in indicates influence from beyond the camp education department. There seems to be some invisible powers that dictate these policies even in seemingly ridiculous settings, necessitating much loss of time for the refugee learner. We shall see more of this in chapter eight.

2.0.1 Linguicism in Colonial English

ELT in colonial times is said to be the main source of this murder of languages. But how is this perceived by the colonised? Here, I look at how ELT supposedly achieved this and the related entrenched ideologies. Pennycook (1998) uncovers ambivalences in the reception of colonial English showing a certain deep-rooted acceptance of it as well as an equally deep aversion. On one hand he presents the Anglicist movement that went to great lengths to promote English and stifle vernaculars. On the other hand there were the Orientalists keen on promoting their own vernaculars (following up on what some colonists did). Then again there are those insisting on English even in the era of fiery Orientalism. Canagarajah (1999) commends this book for being exceptional in grappling with the paradoxes and ironies in the status and functions of English in the periphery. He esteems it for going ‘beyond the usual dichotomies and stereotypes that characterize this historiography to acknowledge greater tensions in the roles of English and the vernacular. Pennycook is said to capture what he calls the ‘critical ambivalences’ in which English is caught up, embodying conflicting attitudes and values’ (Canagarajah 1999:58, Pennycook 1998:214). Pennycook’s treatment of the post-

colonial status of English, especially in Singapore and Malaysia, also goes beyond stereotypes to show the manner in which Anglicism thrives in local communities at a period of intense nationalism. He sums up the dilemma facing postcolonial states with the caution that 'before we start to think of resistance, opposition, counter-discourse, change, we need to consider very carefully the limited possibilities'. He claims he does not want to sound pessimistic and defeatist but warns that from his own experiences with colonialism in Hong Kong and elsewhere 'the power and the fixity of the discourses of colonialism as they adhere to English are very great ...we see English indelibly linked with the reproduction of colonial relations. But we do need to find ways of changing these relationships if the cultural constructs of colonialism are not to be constantly replayed through English and English Language teaching' (Pennycook 1998: 214). He reminds us of the fact that 'we are presented with the double edged sword of needing to learn English, not so much for social and economic advantage - as we know, such advantages will likely be denied anyway- but rather in order to understand better how one is being racially defined'. (Canagarajah: 1999:58)

This notwithstanding, the struggle against discourses that promote English over other languages is still intense. As more and more people gain knowledge in this globalising economy more questions are being raised about practices that were for a long time taken for granted. There has been a flurry of publications challenging the ELT project in the periphery (See Holliday, 1994, Pennycook, 1998, Canagarajah, 1999). These publications challenge inappropriate methodology as well as other aspects such as purposes for which research is carried out and for whose interests. For instance, I find that while acknowledging that Holliday uses a

useful methodology since he focuses on the micro aspect of this dominance (and in the process complements Phillipson's macro –project), Canagarajah still takes exception with Holliday's motives for the endeavour:

Holliday makes no secret of his intentions- he is interested in improving the center-based commercial enterprise. He therefore educates the aid donors, project managers, and expatriate teachers on the cultural conflicts in methods transfer in order to make the funding, managing, and teaching of ELT in the periphery more efficient. Even Phillipson's critique is center influenced, since he uses predominantly center-based experts and data to conduct his analysis. For critical pedagogical research on periphery ELT to be initiated and conducted primarily by center-based scholars invites suspicion. Scholars and teachers from the periphery can be expected to be wary of resistance to English being diluted, even appropriated, by the center in order to further its hegemonic thrusts (Canagarajah 1999:46).

At first glance it would appear that Canagarajah takes his criticism 'too far' and that he seems intent to slate anything done from the centre. However, on closer scrutiny there seems to be a point there, especially concerning co-operation between centre and periphery scholars. Many centre scholars have contributed deep insights to this struggle and it would appear rather unproductive to try to wipe out their contributions. But it is true that even well meaning researchers can make errors of judgement that lead to suspicion of their purpose and to questions of 'on whose side are you really?' Working in equal partnerships with those 'on

the ground' in the periphery can give a better focus to resistance to these deficient discourses.

2.0.2 Linguicentricism?

Spolsky (2004) outrightly rejects the concept of *linguicism* instead referring to it as a form of 'linguicentricism'. He alleges that linguists have a knack for focussing too much on language yet the reality is that there is a multitude of factors responsible for the spread of English in the world. This, he refers to as 'linguicentricism':

One critical limitation of the field is our tendency to what I call linguicentricism, a term I coin to mean 'language centered' because 'linguacentric' has taken on the meaning of 'looked at from the point of view of one language only'. ...Language policy exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors that make up the full ecology of human life. While many scholars are now beginning to recognize the interaction of political and other factors with language, it is easy to ignore them when we concentrate on language matters...language is important and... any studies that exclude language are limited, but ...language and language policy need to be looked at in the widest context and not as a closed universe. Language is a central factor, but linguicentricism (like ethnocentrism and linguacentricism in its regular sense) imposes limited vision.

He draws upon the work of Fishman (1996) and others who have shown that the spread of English and its growth into the global language has manifold factors. A multiple regression analysis conducted by Fishman revealed that 'status as former British colony, percentage of the population maintaining traditional beliefs, value of exports to English-speaking countries, and degree of linguistic diversity were significant to the global spread of English even after collapse of the empire. In other words, there was complex multiple causation' (Spolsky 2004:78). Those who talk of 'linguistic imperialism' and 'linguistic genocide' overlook this observation. They, instead, assume that 'these phenomena were not natural, not a complex result of a multitude of factors interacting with changing linguistic ecology, but of language management' (p79). Spolsky instead avers that, in fact, the position of English was the 'unplanned result of the interaction of a number of factors' and not 'the achievement of a carefully nurtured bureaucratic management'. If viewed otherwise, then 'we have here an outstanding example of the success of a language policy' (*op cit*: 80).

Thus, why should Phillipson assume that there is any specific 'imperialism' that is 'linguistic' in nature? How is this imperialism any different from real imperialism?

Spolsky also takes issue with Phillipson and other linguists who venture into political economy to analyse linguistic issues. He particularly takes exception to conflict theories, which he brands 'conspiracy theories', and urges instead, the use of ordinary contact theories. As far as he is concerned de Swaan's (2001) theory captures the concept better. De Swaan explains the spread of English as a global

language as being a result of a high Q-factor. Q factors are dependent on the utility of the language. If a language is used more, then it measures high on the Q factor. This theory explains why languages such as Arabic, German, and English gain more usage while many indigenous local languages decline in usage.

While I agree that de Swaan's theory captures the spread of these languages, I still feel that it depends on what angle you view it from. It is generally accepted that as these languages gain in utility, smaller, lesser scoring languages deteriorate in use. Now, it depends on where one is coming from and therefore what one's emphasis is. One group prefers to simply state that this is happening and give a general reason as to why it is. The other group wants to go into issues of justice and in order to do so they have to fall back into political economy and see it as an issue of languages wielding power over others. This would explain why, in spite of the criticisms levelled against Phillipson's theories they are still popularly applied in diverse studies. In fact, in many of the works reviewed in this thesis, certain versions of Phillipson's theories dominate. Perhaps this is because they usefully articulate one end of a spectrum –providing a clear position against which others can identify their own positions, usually less uncompromisingly.

In this chapter I am more interested in a general review of related literature as I seek to arrive at a framework for the study. I pursue some more of the issues raised here in chapter 3 that specifically focuses on the chosen theoretical framework. There, I will evaluate further arguments on Phillipson's theories, sift them through and select what tenets to base our study on.

2.1 Literature on Attitudes towards Policy and Practice

In this section I examine literature concerning attitudes towards language-in-education policy and practice. Before I scrutinize attitudes, though, I need to look at arguments concerning language-in-education policy and practice and the oft existing 'gap between official policy and actual practice' (Pennycook 1998:5).

Pennycook (*op cit*: 120) cautions:

In order to make sense of language policies we need to understand both their location historically and their location contextually...we cannot assume that the promotion of a dominant language at the expense of a local language are in themselves good or bad. Too often we view these things through the lenses of liberalism, pluralism or anti-imperialism, without understanding the actual location of such policies.

Having said so, it is a fact that Africa's language policies are inextricably linked to their colonial experience and any discussion of Africa's language policies must of necessity have postcolonial bases. In spite of the entire furore about linguisticism a great many scholars both in the centre and periphery have applied it in their discussion of language policy. Brock-Utne (2002, 2006) describes and analyses language-in-education policies in South Africa and Tanzania, the forces working for and against change and how teachers cope with the realities in the classrooms. She begins her exploration of the language policy impact by tracing the early efforts of those who have argued that children learn better when they understand the language they are being taught in. She then turns to political economy to try and understand the rationale behind insisting on using foreign languages that

students cannot understand properly. 'I view the language question more as a question of social class, of power. What social classes profit from the continued use of European languages in Africa? Who benefits? Who loses?' (Brock-Utne 2002:6). She discusses the conflict between two parties in Tanzania's language policy: the benefiting and the losers. On one hand there are capitalist market forces and globalisation that call for the continued use of European languages in education in Africa irrespective of the fact that only 5% of the population understands the very languages the donors are using. In this category fall the private schools in Tanzania, which teach in English from Primary One, call themselves 'international schools', and charge exorbitant fees. These argue that English is the language of 'development, of modernization', of 'science and technology' and 'globalisation' therefore they must keep in vogue as members of the global village.

She also gives detailed examples of the very donors who give World Bank loans with conditions such as that supplies must be from Western countries. The most notorious is France, which produces over 80% of schoolbooks in "francophone" Africa, but also Britain and The US. Indeed 'publishing industries and consultants in the North profit from the use of ex-colonial languages in education in Africa. They are, however, helped by some of the African elite. The losers are the masses of Africans and thereby the development and self-reliance of the African continent' (2002:36)

At the losing end she places the masses that have to switch suddenly from Swahili medium in primary school to English instruction once they step in secondary

school. She explains with examples the difficulties the learners have and how teachers often have to code switch to enable learning, if at all. Seeing that it is obvious little is being achieved by the continued insistence on English as medium of instruction, Brock-Utne realises that the forces against Swahili appear overwhelming:

In many ways the language-in-education issue can indeed be looked at as a class issue. It is a battle between the silent majority, those who drop out of school, have to repeat grades, do not get anything out of the many years of schooling, and a small vocal majority belonging to the elite class (2002:33)

In continuance of these themes, Brock-Utne (2006) negates myths commonly used to explain away why African languages should not be used in education. The first is the myth of the many languages of Africa. She cites a speech by the renowned African professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah, where he quoted some of the Western Linguists with their estimates of African languages: 'While for instance David Westley (1992) claims that at least 1400 languages are spoken in 51 countries, Barbara Grimes (1992) estimates the number of languages in Africa to be 1995'(Brock-Utne 2006:175). Professor Prah notes that those who insist on looking at things this way have never ceased to look at Africa beyond the colonial created boundaries. These latter were arbitrarily done hence the same language could be referred to differently across borders when they are simply dialects of the same language. Using the same criteria, Cockney, Tyneside and broad Yorkshire in Britain could be classified as different languages (Brock-Utne 2006: 177). In actual fact, she points out: 'as first, second and third language speakers about 85%

of Africans speak no more than 12-15 core languages, fewer than the core languages spoken in the much smaller continent of Europe' (Brock Utne, 2006: 176; See Prah 2000, 2002).

She also negates the myth that it is too expensive to publish in African languages and that European languages should thus continue to be used in African education. Similarly, the myth that the ex-colonial languages are the languages of modernisation and science and technology is strongly disputed. She then describes the difficulties that teachers and pupils in African schools face and the great loss resulting from such ill-conceived policies. She concludes by agreeing with the Cameroonian sociolinguist Maurice Tadadjeu (1987) that everybody should first learn to master his/her mother tongue, then learn a regional African language that can be used as a language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education. After this they can then learn an international foreign language as a subject. (Brock-Utne, 2006:180).

The efforts of the Swahili campaigners seem to have borne some fruit as Spolsky (2004:3) reveals 'after three decades of debate, the Tanzanian government decided to switch the language of secondary schools from English to Kiswahili'.

The African Renaissance movement can also largely be seen to agree with Phillipson's theories. This movement considers utilisation of local languages as paramount to any reforms that may be made in Africa. At a series of conferences organised by the linguists in the movement it was felt that majority of Africans are not comfortable with the European languages left to them at independence from

colonialists. Development thus cannot take place unless radical changes are made. The papers published from the 2003 Cape Town conference variously emphasise this point. Webb (2003) outlines how difficult it is to reach the masses with development ideas if the language being used is hardly comprehensible to them. He urges the proper incorporation of Bantu languages beyond mere statement of policy into the education of workers and into development projects but realises that the business and government leaders are reluctant to embark on new ventures without guaranteed results. He wonders why Bantu languages are not used to train these people and yet those are the languages they are at ease in. Besides, learning through their mother tongues can only do them good as they transfer the learnt skills into other learning experiences including the learning of the selfsame foreign languages. The excuse given that they must learn in English because the language of the work place is English is rejected because 'knowledge, understanding and skills (and of course the required work attitudes, values and norms) are NOT language bound. They are transferable, and can be used in whatever language one knows' (Webb 2003: 70 emphasis in original). He further avers that the sole use of English will not allow the realisation of the country's economic aims 'and the authorities should find creative ways of utilising Bantu languages as development resources. If they do not, the African Renaissance may remain rhetoric, an empty dream. And may even develop into a recurring nightmare' (*op cit*: 82).

This concern of Webb's applies to Kakuma as well. One would wonder why low and middle level skills courses such as those provided by the Don Bosco charity such as carpentry, masonry, dressmaking, should be hampered by language. Some

of these jobs do not need excellent knowledge of English and passing English should not be a condition for one qualifying for them.

2.1.1 Language Rights for all?

We have seen above how Brock-Utne (2002) and others appear to have successfully campaigned for Swahili in Tanzania's secondary schools. This notwithstanding, Muthwii (2002) still maintains that that is but half the story. She points out that the estimated forty-two indigenous languages in Kenya and the over one hundred and twenty Tanzanian indigenous languages have been neglected in their education policies. Whereas in Tanzania there appears to be a blackout on indigenous languages, in Kenya these have fallen into the shadows. Apart from being used in the first three years of education they are no longer given any status. Even after several reviews of the language policy in Kenya the African languages are hardly noticed and the race is between English and Swahili leaving them far behind. Yet, Owino (2002) argues that indigenous African languages are central to the development of the continent. Even though the elite would like to argue that they are not developed well enough it appears the case of the hen and the egg-which comes first? So long as they are not developed then they cannot be used in higher status roles but the continued use of European languages in these roles makes the elite disinterested in developing their own languages for education, moaning that the standards will fall.

A few observations though need to be made here. Is it possible to grant every single language in every African country the same rights and duties? Can every language be used in education and offices? Much as I would like to be wary of

Cummins' (2000a) warning about using cost as an excuse we find ourselves faced with Lagerspetz's (1998) apparently ruthless standpoint:

Whatever arrangements we have in a society, *some* linguistic groups are favoured at the expense of others. The right cannot be guaranteed to all citizens equally. Some linguistic minorities are bound to be so small that their rights are just neglected. Indeed, it is inconceivable that any society could have more than, say, four or five official languages. Whatever the language policy, the full effective right to language cannot be given to all, and the smallest groups are necessarily left without any recognized status. *There is no policy of equal treatment of all linguistic groups* (except, of course, when the society just happens to be linguistically homogenous). Thus, we have to think in terms of costs and benefits. (Lagerspetz 1998:194).

Conversely, Lagerspetz would be surprised that there *are* a few countries with more than the 'four or five official languages' he thinks it would be 'inconceivable' to exceed. South Africa, for instance has eleven official languages (Alexander 2000). Nevertheless, in practice, there is still a tendency for a few to take pre-eminence over others. As might be expected, to keep in vogue with the rest of the members of the global village English is rearing its head as the preferred language above the others. (See Webb 2003). These complexities can be captured by Canagarajah's (1999) observation that rapid changes have caught many nations unawares. While they were busy working on the decolonisation project where English was being resisted and prominence given to regional and local languages for 'national unity' the carpet was swept from under their feet by

globalisation. The latter has re-established the need to open up boundaries and emphasised English as a global language. In effect, language issues tend to get embroiled in fluid dilemmas. Some of these dilemmas are discussed by Graddol (2006), who gives a detailed analysis of the impact of globalisation on language use and choice.

Lagerspetz follows up the argument in Kymlicka (1994) that immigrants have relinquished their language rights by choosing to emigrate. Even though some immigrant groups in Europe are larger than indigenous linguistic minorities 'they could either have [chosen to have] their language rights secured in their old home country or to live perhaps freer or more prosperous lives elsewhere' (Kymlicka 1994: 27). But then he puts a rider on it 'such a choice may have its tragic aspects, but so may many other choices we make. However, we should not apply this rule in a mechanical way. Every group has its history, and in some countries almost all people are newcomers' (Lagerspetz 1998:195). He goes further to assert that

The right to use one's own language cannot be a human right in any standard sense. It is necessarily connected with factors which are arbitrary from a moral point of view. First it is tied up with the number of speakers of a language. It cannot be guaranteed for very small groups. Second, it may also have something to do with the history of the society in question. But, of course, a full moral right which is dependent on such accidental things is an anomaly in liberal theory. This might be used as an argument against the claim that the right to use one's own language is a fundamental moral right. A world in which everyone everywhere could use one's own

language is more Utopian than, say, a world in which everyone had a job (Lagerspetz 1998:195).

He sums up his argument by noting that there is a *prima facie* right to use one's own language but for practical reasons 'it cannot be granted to everybody everywhere. But if it is practically feasible to grant people a right to use their own language, then it should be granted' (*op cit*: 198).

It appears to me that scholars of different persuasions seem to all converge on the point that something ought to be done about linguistic policies and practices. They have given a lot of 'whys' and the effort is most laudable. What we need is more of the challenging practicals- a more intricate undertaking than is acknowledged. Perhaps in future conferences each one should turn up with a 'developed bit' from a 'neglected' language as a step towards its being used in education, for instance. The paucity of published sources in many of these community languages (especially African mother tongues) is very telling. Or else we shall be like the very elite I am chiding, for instance, the Tanzanian leaders taking their children to Eton clone schools such as the Kamuzu Banda School in Malawi while urging the use of Swahili in education! I follow up on this issue on the section on mother tongues in chapter six.

2.2 Socio-political influences on language policy

The attitudes of the refugee learners are shaped and influenced by what they see going on elsewhere in the world. We see that one's own love of, and preference for a language, is highly conditioned by attitudes in their environment especially about the utility of a language. Discourses around languages are highly influenced

by national and international political manipulations. They manifest in the media but also in the speech of those around the learners and one often gets caught up in them. In this section I explore the socio-political factors that bear upon policy attitudes towards language-in education. These include social, economic, political pressures that are exerted on the learner to encourage or discourage him/her from achieving in his/her linguistic endeavours.

Brock-Utne (2002) narrates incidents where children in Tanzania were taken to the so-called international schools that teach in English right from Primary One. In many cases these children were miserable because they could not understand what the teacher was saying. They often tried to dodge school and some succeeded in being transferred. A mother related this to her in Swahili:

Because we belong to the more well-to-do in Tanzania and can afford the high school fees that the so-called international primary schools charge, my husband insisted that our daughter should start school in one of these new schools. Everybody wants the best for his or her children, and he thought it was the best. I did not agree but we decided to give it a try. As you know, these schools have English as the language of instruction right from the start. That is what our daughter hated about the school. She had really big problems. She told me she always spoke Swahili with her classmates but when the teacher approached them, they tried to switch to English. She disliked school so much that she dropped out for days at a time and used all sorts of excuses for not attending...since she was transferred to Mlimani where the language of instruction is Swahili; she

just loves school and has not stayed away for a single day. (Brock –Utne 2002:37-38) (Translated from Swahili by Brock –Utne)

This situation is played out in another form across the seas in the USA with the not so well off. Here, to enable learners to understand the teachers some schools provide bilingual education in various forms. However, this provision comes under attack because of deep-rooted negative attitudes towards the use of any other language in education other than English. It is often assumed that pupils in bilingual education are wasting precious time that should instead be used in learning more English. The negative presentations in the media influence parents and teachers such that it becomes very difficult for the teachers to be effective in these programmes. The programmes are constantly blamed for the poor performance in the national examinations of students who speak other languages:

Bilingual children are truly caught in the crossfire of these discourses. Xenophobic discourse... constricts the way in which identities are negotiated between teachers and students and the opportunities for learning that culturally and linguistically diverse students experience. (Cummins 2000a: 5)

Cummins points out that this indoctrination is so strong that even intellectuals get caught up in it. He cites the distinguished historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s mislabelling of bilingualism as equivalent to inadequate knowledge of English as a case in point:

'Bilingualism shuts doors...using some language other than English dooms people to second-class citizenship in American society. ...Monolingual education opens doors to the larger world. ...Institutionalised bilingualism remains another source of the fragmentation of America, another threat to the dream of 'one people'. (Schlesinger 1991:109 in Cummins 2000a: 5)

This kind of irresponsible remark from a historian of renown is what exasperates Cummins more so in this day when globalisation is making knowledge of more languages necessary for global interdependence. He points out that America also frequently expresses the need for multilingual 'human resources' for its businesses. Schlesinger also behaves irresponsibly intellectually since he does not find out the meaning of 'bilingualism' but prefers to equate it to inadequate knowledge of English. Contrary to his claims for which indeed he (Schlesinger) cites no data. Cummins cites research that has shown that bilingualism is associated with enhanced linguistic, cognitive and academic development when both languages are encouraged to develop. Schlesinger also blames the victim of a system that has nothing 'against the learning of 'foreign' languages by native speakers of English, but he evades the obvious question of why bilingualism is good for the rich but bad for the poor'. (Cummins 2000a: 4).

Another ideology propagated is that the knowledge and use of English leads to economic success. Parents, who go to great lengths to ensure their children are educated in English, commonly hold it. Contrarily studies have shown that loss of L1 by assimilating to L2 does not necessarily lead to economic success. Garcia

(1995) carried out a large quantitative survey using multiple regression analysis among different Latino groups in the USA to find out if losing their L1 would lead to economic success. She found this to be a false assumption that has come to be 'ideology' (Tollefson 1991). Many communities which spoke only English such as the African American and most Latinos in the USA still remained in abject poverty, struggling to make ends meet, while the Cuban-Americans who largely maintained their L1 were economically successful. Using a socio-historical framework Garcia came to this conclusion 'speaking only English does not always make a difference in the achievement of economic prosperity, ... bilingualism, rather than monolingualism is a useful commodity in some communities, including the Latino one (Garcia 1995:157)

2.3 Realities of Use of Language in Education

There are many realities that multilingual learners face that pose great challenges to their education. These include how to juggle the languages in the actual classroom, traumatic experiences that get in the way of their education, lack of resources as well as macro societal factors influencing their education from above. I start off by looking at the use of many languages in class.

2.3.0 Languages other than English in class

Sonck (2005) demonstrates the realities that multilingual learners face as a consequence of education policy. She shows how learners in the Indian Ocean Island of Mauritius face hazards in their education due to a seemingly problematic language policy. First, we seem to have a situation where the choice of which language to include is tricky. As the policy stands English is the language of

instruction, Creole the support language for the first three years, French the second western language and the ancestral languages are taught to preserve cultural identities. According to Sonck this programme is neither fair nor successful and needs to be reviewed. First of all, she seems to feel that there are too many languages in education and the languages have been allocated arbitrarily. The argument goes that Malgache a community language, cannot be used in Mauritius (even though 13 million people in Madagascar speak it and it has status there), nor is it possible for the Bantu languages to be used for the African Creole population (even though over 350 million people in the world speak Bantu languages). These are not considered worthy to be used in education in Mauritius yet some Indian ancestral languages not spoken in Mauritius have been included in the language programme. She feels this is burdensome for the learners. From the tone of this article Sonck seems to think that it would be a better idea to get rid of all other languages in mainstream education and focus on English. The pupils should be immersed in English right from the start to perfect its learning. The ancestral languages should be taught elsewhere as they are strange to the pupils anyway:

It can, of course, be argued that it is not easy to teach children in a language other than the mother tongue, particularly if the children share a common language (Creole) which they use to converse with each other. Yet immersion programmes in Canada have proved successful (See Genesee, 1987) (Sonck 2005:40).

The argument seems to be that ‘although from the fourth year onwards, English is the medium of instruction, what actually happens in the classroom varies from school to school. Asking students and teachers and observing classes does not necessarily give a clear picture of the situation because teachers are reluctant to admit that they use Creole, and they avoid using it in the presence of official outsiders (*ibid*). So her problem seems to be that there are too many languages being taught in school and that Creole should be avoided to give more time to English. This reminds one of what Phillipson (1999) calls the ‘maximum exposure fallacy’. The reality, however, is that research has shown (Cummins 2000a) that more English is not necessarily better. What is important is to have L1 literacy established, a thing that aids literacy in English.

What is more, as Cummins (2000a) pointed out, some research findings cannot be generalised to cover areas where the essential circumstances are so diverse. Immersion programmes done by choice by those whose middle class background allows for ‘additive bilingualism’ is not the same as that forced onto hapless victims of a prejudiced system. The latter usually leads to ‘subtractive bilingualism’ where their mother tongues deteriorate as knowledge of English develops.

Sonck also seems to be concerned that teachers use Creole even after the officially allocated three years of education and would wish for this practice to stop.

The same situation appears not to bother Brock-Utne (2002), who seems satisfied with the idea of secondary school teachers in Tanzania using Swahili to explain

concepts to students. She affirms that what is important is for the students to understand the teacher even if this flouts the official policy. I can conclude, therefore, that the crux of the matter is what theoretical orientation one is grounded in or what practical, social linguistic context one finds oneself in. Thus, Sonck sees the system as a failure in need of reforms, which include reducing the 'expensive' 'foreign' ancestral languages and 'immersing' the students in English for more success ostensibly measured by performance in English. Brock-Utne, on the other hand, agrees with the need for reform but in the opposite direction. She argues that the learners ought to be taught in the language they understand and it is the policy that should accommodate the learner. This is a running theme in the work of Skutnabb Kangas as she still confirms:

Research with indigenous and minority children from all over the world shows negative results from using a dominant language as the main or only teaching language. Two examples: Canadian Inuit students taught in English reach only Grade 4 level after 9 years of schooling; English is the greatest barrier to successful classroom learning for Aboriginal children in Australia. Research also shows that children learn better when they are taught through a language they know well. Skutnabb-Kangas (2006c: 2)

Cummins (2000a) considers many of these attitudes to be influenced by ideologies concerning language use in education, which he and others try to expose as underlying prejudice sheathing power relations. For instance whereas there is some provision for bilingual education in some countries, such as the USA, that allows some bilingual learners the opportunity to learn in two languages, this is

not as easy as it appears on the surface. Only a few learners have the opportunity to benefit from the optimum bilingual model that is a ‘two-way model’ and others have to continue learning and being tested in an unfamiliar language.

The Oyster Bilingual School (Washington, DC) is an example of a success story (See Freeman 1998; Cummins 2000a). This is a Spanish –English bilingual programme that was started in 1971 and starts from kindergarten up to grade 6. Each class is taught by two teachers, one responsible for English-medium instruction and one for Spanish-medium instruction. Students read in both languages each day so there is simultaneous development of literacy in the two languages. The students comprise about 60% Spanish L1 (primarily Salvadorean) and 40% English L1 (about half African-American, half Euro-American).

This school has had excellent academic success. For example, Freeman (1998) reports the 1991 results as: at the grade 3 level Reading, Mathematics, Language and Science scores were 1.6--1.8 median grade equivalents above norms (percentiles 74—81). The grade 6 grade equivalents were 4.4—6.2 above norms (percentiles 85—96).

According to Freeman, the school has evolved a *social identities project* that positively evaluates linguistic and cultural diversity and communicates this strongly to students. Freeman illustrates how the interactions between educators and students in Oyster bilingual school “refuse” the discourse of subordination that characterizes the treatment of minorities in the wider society and in most conventional school contexts. She points out that the discourse practices in the school “reflect an ideological assumption that linguistic and cultural diversity is a resource to be developed by all students, and not a problem that minority students

must overcome in order to participate and achieve at school” (p. 233). Cummins points out that the school *requires* all students to become bilingual and biliterate in Spanish and English, and “to expect, tolerate, and respect diverse ways of interacting” (p. 27).

In other words, the school “aims to promote social change on the local level by socializing children differently from the way children are socialized in mainstream US educational discourse” (p. 27).

Cummins (2000a) decries the use of tests oriented towards western individuals with western cultural assumptions on people from other cultural orientations that have been ongoing for many years. He compares it to the practice that took place in the early twentieth century whereby IQ tests were used to detect feeble-mindedness among aliens, who were then deported if found to be such. These IQ tests were applied indiscriminately despite their unacknowledged prejudice against those from different cultures. Considering that these tests are very much culturally conceptualised using them to test individuals from other cultures led to ridiculous results, which did not appear so in the eyes of those that administered them. They did not realise how much cultural difference tilted the playing field against the Other. This was especially seen in the work of Goddard who was in charge of an institution for these ‘aliens’ and was glad to find a measure that ostensibly got rid of ‘feeble minded aliens’ by deportation (Goddard, 1917).

This may appear ludicrous to some of us now but it serves to highlight some of the suffering caused to speakers of other languages when they are examined in

English today, whatever the nature of the examination. Yet, there are still many instances of education systems that fail to acknowledge that lack of proper knowledge in a dominant language in a student is not necessarily an indicator of intellectual feebleness.

I might add here from personal experience that tests such as GRE that are used to determine entry into some American universities have an overly- American orientation and seem strange to students from other educational systems especially non-western ones. Though this is an issue of educational culture the principles are similar.

2.3.1 Traumatic experiences

Coelho (1994) explores the traumatic experiences of refugees and immigrant children and how these should be taken into consideration in educating and assessing them. She, however, differentiates between the two and notes that in that in the case of refugees there is really no choice as to immigration. From the artwork of refugee children, she says, one can learn of how much they have been traumatised by war and violence, and small instances such as a plane flying overhead can trigger a memory such as a death or separation and really scare them. She traces the origin of some of these refugees and points out how their trauma was added to by long periods in refugee camps:

By the time they arrive in their new city, some have spent many years in refugee camps, often in appalling conditions, waiting for official recognition of their status as bona fide refugees and then waiting for one or another of the refugee sponsoring countries to accept them. This wait is a

period of extreme stress and adults and children alike often become anxious and depressed. Previously good family relations may be worn down during this time by squalor, noise, despair; some adults retreat into silence and therefore are not providing the linguistic interaction their children need in order to develop proficiency in their first language. (Coelho 1994:312-313)

Among the recommendations she gives that should ensure sensitivity on the part of educators, Coelho warns against the indiscriminate use of standardised tests to measure their achievement. These standardised tests assume that one is very familiar with the majority culture and its education system:

There are no culture-free, unbiased standardized tests that can be applied fairly to all populations. The alternative ...is to bias the tests in favour of the children's cultural backgrounds by using tasks and materials with which the children are familiar...A fundamental premise you should work with is that the students always know more than they can show you in the second language (*op cit*: 321)

2.3.2 Macro-societal factors or learner variables?

What leads to successful learning or otherwise is a question that seeks answers. Some say it is up to the individual learner whereas others acknowledge that there are external societal factors that bear upon the learning experience, affecting it in a major way. Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (2002) carried out an ethnographic study of rural schools in the Solomon Islands to establish why there was such a high failure

and dropout rate. They observed eleven children in their home environments and then visited the schools most of the children attended.

They were able to establish that contrary to popular belief; rural young children in the Solomon Islands did receive instruction in their mother tongues from their parents and carers similar to what European children learn from parents and carers. Their failure in achieving in early literacy in schools could not, therefore, be attributed to lack of practice in reasoning in abstract ways. They, therefore, had to look beyond this and other assumptions, and look for answers at factors at the macro-social level. After carefully studying the historical and social situation, they were better equipped to explain these problems in education. Rural life with its accompanying poverty, lack of motivation to study (as there was little chance of passing exams), having to drop out and take on work to help their families, and many other socio-historical factors were making education in the rural areas seem unimportant or hopeless. In order to make meaningful intervention many factors had to be addressed instead of focussing on whether teachers were teaching well or not, or merely on 'learner-motivation'.

Whereas a lot of good research has been done on how learner variables affect outcome in language learning, we have to bear in mind what Tollefson (1991) cautions about their application to language planning. Tollefson is opposed to a lot of research in Second Language Acquisition that focuses too much on individual learner variables as though they are a panacea to educational problems. He affirms that theory must go beyond a limited concern with learner variables to look at the wider socio-historical context. He considers it a positive development that a

counter tendency has developed alongside what he calls the 'neo-classical' approach to language planning:

The Counter tendency rejects the neoclassical assumptions that the rational calculus of individuals is the proper focus of research and instead seeks the origins of the constraints on planning, the sources of the costs and benefits of individuals' choices, and the social, political, and economic factors which constrain or impel changes in the structure and language use. This approach to language planning may be termed the *historical-structural approach* (Tollefson 1991:36, emphasis in original).

He argues, thus, that equity can only be achieved when language policy takes on fully the process of establishing structural equality by giving a major role to those affected in the policy-making. This though can have unanticipated results.

To a great extent I agree with Tollefson that perhaps too much emphasis has been laid on the individual learner as though all depended on him. Notwithstanding, I also affirm that we must not lose sight of individual learner variables as some learners within the same milieu may yet demonstrate great differences in achievement. Some are more motivated and can work through great difficulties to achieve, whereas others give up when faced with challenges. Nevertheless the achievement should not only focus on the individual learner but what influences him/her to go on or give up. What I recommend is that both aspects be taken into consideration without any being overemphasised at the expense of the other. This is required for the type of holistic approach essential for ethnography. In

ethnography every individual's view is important. Unlike positivistic research, ethnography does not compare how significant the percentage of learners like or do not like a language. Instead even the view of the minority that says no is equally valued as the majority that say yes.

The external pressures can be summed up in what Brock-Utne (2006) declares about linguistic experiences in African education:

...Socio-cultural politics, economic interests, sociolinguistics and education are so closely linked that it is difficult to sort out the arguments. It is an area with strong donor pressure, mostly from the former colonial masters, who want to retain and strengthen their own languages. There are strong economic interests from publishing companies overseas, who see that they will have easier access to the African textbook market when the European languages are used. There are also faulty but widely held, beliefs among lay people when it comes to the language of instruction, (Brock-Utne 2006: 174)

These ideas are accepted by some scholars and disputed by others as we have seen elsewhere in this chapter. I agree wholly that the choice of language in the education of African children is no simple matter. There are numerous extraneous influences, though the motive is not always negative. Some altruistic donors make seemingly unwise decisions because of failing to gauge the recipients' true needs and wishes. If more ethnographic research was conducted and findings also incorporated in theory; these should be applied to policy and diminish such errors of judgement. The donors will have a better understanding of the actual needs of

their recipients. Or else as with the current UNHCR policy (or lack of policy) and the practice on the ground, refugees become the wretched victims of such macro-societal pressures that are of no direct relevance to them.

2.4 Responses to these realities

In looking at responses to the realities facing refugee learners one of the first steps should be with getting rid of fallacies and counteracting ideologies. Acceptance of different varieties of language is a well argued-for stride in the right direction. Right from the nineteenth century some dictionaries preferred to include non 'standard' words. For instance, Noah Webster's (1828) *American Dictionary of the English Language* included American English words that were then frowned upon in England as being non-standard. (See Graddol 2000; Spichtinger, 2000; Kachru 1986 for more examples of Englishes). Kachru (1983) has already established Indian English and urged an acceptance of the unique English varieties as they have their own population of speakers. Ramanathan (2005) further asserts that it is no longer the case in India that when referring to English it must be American English, British or Australian. 'English in postcolonial India is Indian English' (Ramanathan (2005: 115). He illuminates the dilemma of many an English teacher that is a critic of the English dominance in the world:

As one directly engaged in English language education, I worry that I am contributing to sustaining the divisive force that English plays in the world. The only way in which I make my peace with this difficult predicament is by working to make my second language student teachers

more critical, more vigilant and more reflective of their (TESOL-related) socio-educational worlds (Ramanathan (2005:120).

Moraes (1996) using the work of the Bakhtin Circle (e.g. Bakhtin, 1986) argues for a dialogic-critical pedagogy within bilingual programs and for an approach to educational and societal change that is from both the margins and the centre. Dominant/oppressive groups have been educated 'toward a tacit understanding that they are superior. Therefore the oppressed can be best empowered if we also turn our attention to the oppressor' (1996:115; see Cummins 2000a:236). This study is important to my thesis as it urges that awareness be ensured in stakeholders in refugee education so as to get rid of any unknown biases.

Cummins (2000a) urges collaborative dialogue as a way forward. He devotes a chapter to 'Challenging the Discourses of Disempowerment Through Collaborative Dialogue'. He cites the debate on bilingual education in the United States, where 'discourses of educational equity collide with discourses that are xenophobic and racist. In between are discourses that are not overtly xenophobic but rather portray themselves as concerned with 'rationality', effectiveness, and cost.'" (Cummins (2000a: 232). This is a significant observation since a lot goes under the cover of 'cost'. Indeed, it is a case in refugee camps that priority is given to provision of food and water and other 'basic' necessities and sound education depends on the 'leftovers'. While this may be understandable in the camp setting, Cummins cautions that lack of resources is often given as an excuse to deny sound language education for multilingual learners.

Carrying out research is an important prerequisite for educational equity. Nevertheless, as Cummins explains some more difficulties occur when one undertakes to communicate the findings since many policy makers are either opposed to bilingual education or rather sceptical of its value. It is especially difficult if the findings go against the expected view that English immersion is the best for multilingual children. He describes one group of opponents as those who fear bilingual education from a socio-political perspective, associating it with being divisive. For these types of people, the research is not important unless the findings can be used to back-up their preconceived and deeply rooted oppositions to bilingual education.

The other group of opponents are not overtly racist or xenophobic but have been disinformed regarding the true research findings on bilingual education. Since they are not well informed, they often revert to the popular ostensibly 'commonsense' view that the children should be immersed in English as soon as possible and given plenty of it in order to learn it well. (Cummins 2000a: 232). They sincerely believe that this is what is best for the learners, but as Cummins argues even 'apartheid in South Africa was rationalized in these terms. Those who hold power also usually hold 'deep and sincere beliefs' that they act in the best interests of the society as a whole and that they have more insight than subordinated communities into what is in their best interests' (Cummins (2000a: 235).

Going a step further, Cummins (2000a) argues that the education of minority children can become enhanced by making it both enriched and transformative. He

suggests that for the education to become enriched it must aim for biliteracy and for it to be transformative it must challenge the operation of coercive relations of power in society. He argues for a rise beyond the dichotomy between 'English Only' and 'bilingual education' to a higher perspective where the focus is on providing *Enriched Education* for the students as Cloud et al. (2000) demonstrate. This enriched education seeks to provide biliteracy unlike remedial programs that regard students' bilingualism as a problem to be overcome and try to achieve only monolingualism and monoliteracy. These Enriched Education programmes have been successful in many instances.

I entirely concur with Cummins here that it is not always obvious to those arguing against language choices that would be fairer for the refugee learner that they could be doing them a disservice. Just reading through the 'letters to the editor' columns of newspapers in Anglophone African countries one finds many 'sincere' views of those concerned that students are not getting enough exposure to English. To me, the reality is usually they are 'sincerely wrong' and these are instances of nothing but what Phillipson (1999) refers to as the 'maximum exposure fallacy'.

Similarly, recent language immigration policies in Europe also demonstrate ideologies that conform to Phillipson's fallacies. In spite of contrary views expressed by linguists, policy makers have gone ahead and made it increasingly difficult for one to be an immigrant in the UK if one is not literate in English. This seems to be overriding the previously language-friendly approach where information was printed in different languages displaying a variety of scripts to ensure the message reaches all and sundry. It is now getting tougher on the immigrant because, in fact, there is now a language requirement to citizenship. To

the immigrant by choice this is a bargain they have to decide but for the refugees, some victims of atrocities in their countries, there is an extra burden made of language. Who said language was neutral? (See Canagarajah 1999 disagreeing with Phillipson 1992).

2.5 Language Literacy Methodology

Finally, before closing the literature review and as a pre-view to chapter four, I consider literature on language and literacy and issues of methodology. In this section my interest is focussed on the methodology used in various research projects. We have issues arising that concern how best to assess language and literacy in periphery classrooms, how to study learners' cognitions and perceptions about what is best for them in learning in second languages and I also look at some studies carried out on refugees.

The New Literacy Studies group (see Street, 2001) has done a lot of work on language and literacy that is relevant to this study. Many of the projects are based on ethnographic studies in periphery communities. They recommend that before embarking on an ethnographic study it is important to suspend judgement on the educational aims and agendas of developers rather than taking them as the ground from which further analysis follows. They advise that even popular approaches, such as 'learner centred' or 'process writing' should not be adopted until we find out whether they can work well in the particular contexts being studied. They emphasise looking for local meanings and uses of communicative practices and literacy practices which may indicate alternative approaches to the design of literacy programmes to those commonly used and which seem obvious from

outside (Street, 2001). 'We are helped to 'see' local perspectives and nuances in indigenous and central concepts of the educational process. Out of such reviewing the authors hope that more sensitive programmes might emerge. That is, researchers are not interested simply in the theoretical and methodological insights arising from their research but are also committed to working through their practical implications (ibid: 21).

In this tradition Pardoe (2001) carried out an ethnographic study where he observed classes focussing on the students' talk around writing. He studied both what appeared to be successful writing tasks coming close to the given standards, as well as those which appeared unsuccessful as they deviated from the standard. In so doing he recognised that he could draw the indignation of those obsessed with 'standards' that would question the wisdom of studying the work of 'unsuccessful' students. But he justifies his study thus:

Many people might argue that literacy and writing research should instead confine itself to developing our understanding of the knowledge, expertise, and practices of *successful* expert writers and of the standardized forms and dominant discourses and genres they use. This can be argued not only from the 'right wing' perspective of increasing conformity to the standard forms, but also from the 'left wing' perspective of empowering people by teaching them to use the powerful forms of written language...Yet implicit in this argument is a *deficit view* in which 'low-status writing practices, and unsuccessful student writing, are viewed as simply failed attempts to access the dominant, standard form' (Pardoe (2001: 151).

Whereas Pardoe acknowledges that in some cases this might be true to some extent in the sense that the students fail to meet the expected standard, this view does not help anyone. He correctly notes that the writings are much more than this and indeed if research adopts this deficit view it fails to achieve anything since it focuses on what is not instead of what is. It does not tell us what guided the writers in their writings and fails to recognise the existing understandings and practices that are the basis for further development, as also pointed out in Shaughnessy (1977:5). He wraps up his argument by observing that such research cannot inform the process of developing people's literacy even towards what would be the desired, more successful forms. Neither can it inform pedagogies or policies for literacy development, but can only reiterate the pedagogically empty criticisms and assertions that 'something must be done' (Pardoe, 2001:151).

He also points out another danger of taking such a deficit view of students' writing. What it does is to make the whole exercise a matter of '*replacing* students' existing repertoire of literacy practices rather than refining and *adding* to these (*ibid*, Emphasis in original). Instead of empowering the students, such pedagogy instead leads to their further marginalisation and exclusion making them get a sense of personal failure. It is especially problematic when these writings are central to their sense of identity and to their successful functioning in other contexts. The result ultimately is not to get them to learn the standardised forms but it encourages hostility and resistance. He laments its failure to 'address students' already highly reflexive ambivalence with standard English, Received Pronunciation and high status discourses and genres. ...Most fundamentally, it

fails to recognise the enormity of the cultural and textual understanding and skill that the students are already drawing on in their writing (compared with that which needs to be learned), and, therefore, effectively ignores the foundations for further development' (Pardoe, 2001:151-2).

Pardoe's work is significant to my study as it gave me more reason to study not only the seemingly successful students but also those who have difficulty communicating in English. By so doing I was able to observe attitudes and strategies as the students negotiated their tasks. Even so, this positive approach to learners' errors is not such a new thing as the point has been made in a lot of studies carried out in the field of Error Analysis in the field of Second Language Acquisition. Notwithstanding, applying these principles to actual instances of literacy development is a step in the right direction.

Wright (2001) carried out an ethnographic study in schools in Eritrea. She went there with preconceived ideas as to how she would look for aspects of 'communicative learning'. After what she says were many frustrating visits to the schools she decided to stop looking for what was apparently missing and focus on what was being done. In the process she was able to discover how the teacher had made adaptations to the teaching methods to allow for as much student involvement as was possible given the huge number of pupils and depravity of resources. She makes the following observation:

It is understandable that the sight of such dreary classrooms, often dark and cold, even in North Africa, lacking all the niceties of modern western

elementary classrooms-or even the *necessities*, to Western eyes-could be overwhelming: the small, thin children dressed in little more than rags, crowds of them packed onto broken desks, with only broken pencils, a blackboard they can barely see, no textbooks and only a few thin copybooks donated by some aid organisation. The din of these sixty children shouting their replies to the teacher's questions, seemingly at the top of their lungs, only to be told to say it louder, can be stupefying to the researcher trained to look for communicative methods, who sees no literacy being practised and only 'chanting' taking place in the classrooms (Wright 2001: 61).

This is commensurate with the observations in Creese (2005) and Shafiif and Stebbins (1991) that researchers should focus on the perspectives of the people they study. We should look at the meaning they assign to things and gain close awareness of their viewpoints. Wright learnt the hard way that in order to make any progress in her work she had to suspend judgement and see this local perspective of literacy.

I uncovered a good deal of institutional prejudice- of which I was a perpetrator myself- toward methods that did not appear to be in keeping with the 'modern' ideology. However, at the same time I gained a genuine appreciation for kinds of adaptation I had not heretofore even recognised [and began] to question the gospel of 'student-centred', 'communicative' methodology. (Wright 2001: 61-62)

She concludes by urging that we do not view non-standard forms of classroom methodology the way non-standard forms of language are viewed, that is, as deficient and as failure of the teacher to achieve. We should not think the teacher has failed to comprehend and implement the curriculum or that the learners suffer an 'intellectual impoverishment commensurate with the material' (p61). Instead Wright contends that 'rather than *failing to understand*, the teachers may instead be *choosing to interpret* the L2 curriculum in their own ways, and that these choices are based on their own concerns about what is best for the students, what is possible given the constraints of their material circumstances, their beliefs about the students and their families, and in some cases awareness of their own capabilities and limitations as teachers'. She urges those investigating language policy and instruction, especially when outside their own familiar environments,

'To consider whether they need to incorporate the above perspective, to allow for a fuller understanding of the interaction under analysis; that they cannot begin to suggest improvements to an educational system which they have analysed only in terms of their own how it fails to resemble their own.... (Wright 2001:61-2)

I consider this study relevant to mine as I encountered classrooms in the camp that suffered from lack of material necessities. Some of the classes in developing countries, particularly African ones, are even held under trees. I benefited from her advice on how to focus on what is going on rather than looking for what is absent. In the same book (Street 2001) we have a study in Morocco which showed that some indigenous methods such as recitation and memorisation do

facilitate reading acquisition in Arabic especially for children for whom Arabic is not a first language.

Finally, I look at some studies in African classrooms. Brock-Utne (2006) discusses some of the realities facing teachers and learners in the African classrooms where the ex-colonial languages are used as media of instruction. She demonstrates coping strategies used by many African teachers who themselves do not master the language of instruction very well. 'Safe talk', code-mixing and code-switching are commonly used. Heller and Martin-Jones (2001:13) refine Chick's (1996) definition of safe-talk and explain it as 'classroom talk that allows participation without any risk of loss of face for the teacher and the learners and maintains an appearance of 'doing the lesson', while in fact little learning is actually taking place'. This would be, for example repeating of chorus answers after the teacher without really comprehending what is meant by the tasks. (See Brock-Utne 2006 and Rubagumya 1990 for examples from classrooms observed.)

Brock-Utne distinguishes code-switching as an intersentential change that can be used by competent bilinguals whereas code-mixing is an intrasentential change often used by teachers without a good command of the language of instruction. Whereas these strategies help especially the subject teachers get their messages across to learners the sad reality is that learners are not allowed to do the same at the end of their courses when they take examinations:

National examiners...of Tanzania have told me of the many times they have seen students answer...correctly, but in Kiswahili. The examiners

were instructed to give such students zero points because the answers were supposed to be in English (Brock-Utne 2006:189).

She concludes by urging that while awaiting implementation of the ideal model, the three-language model proposed by Tadadjeu (1987) should be applied. This states that learners should be awarded full points for a correct answer in exam questions whether they express themselves in the local, the regional or a foreign language.

2.6 Summary

Chapter two has been a review of literature relevant to the various experiences of refugee learners in a camp. I started off by examining Phillipson's concepts of 'linguicism' and 'linguistic imperialism', assessing their merits and demerits. Spolsky (2004), Graddol (2006), and Crystal (2000) are among Phillipson's opponents. Crystal asserts that language is neutral, Graddol avers that English is the king of languages and is far too useful to be resisted. In fact it should be helped to maintain this status. Spolsky dismisses the concepts as mere 'linguicentricism'. On the other hand Pennycook (1998), Brock-Utne (2002,2006) and a host of scholars vouching for the African Renaissance (e.g. Webb 2003, Owino 2003, Muthwii 2003) are among the supporters. I concluded that for our purposes these are valid concepts useful for our analysis of language experiences of refugees in a Kenyan camp.

I then assessed literature exhibiting varying attitudes toward language-in-education policy and practices. Here, I examined the issue of linguistic human

rights. There is a host of scholars including Phillipson (1995) that argues for provision of people's own languages especially in the education of their children. Cummins (2000) is among these scholars that can be said to argue for language rights for all, especially in education. Kymlicka (1994) and Lagerspetz (1998) differ and allege that it is impractical to try to undertake such a huge task as catering for each and every person's language. In fact, they argue that immigrants have given up the right to their languages by emigrating. This remains a moot point in the literature and in this thesis I seek to find a balance between the opposing views, chiefly, considering that refugees are not always willing immigrants.

I then reviewed some literature showing the realities that multilingual refugees face in their education, principally, because of diverse languages, and analysed how they respond to them. Wright (2001) explicates adaptations made by teachers in poor African schools and Coelho (1994) focuses on how traumatic experiences of refugees affect their linguistic abilities.

Finally, I looked into some studies on methodology, as a background to the methodology chapter (chapter four). Here, I saw Street (2001) urging that learners' literacies be considered as a starting point and that their errors should be looked at positively (Pardoe 2001)

In the next chapter I look at the theoretical frameworks used in this study and the rationale for choosing them.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I look at the theoretical frameworks in which the study is conceptualised. Our focus will be on Cummins' (2000a) Transformative Pedagogy Theory. I also refer to Phillipson's 'Linguistic Imperialism' and Kachru's (1985, 1994) World Englishes. I start off by discussing the Transformative Pedagogy framework. I chose this framework, as one of the aims of this thesis is to seek for a beneficial theory of language pedagogy.

3.1 Transformative Pedagogy

Transformative pedagogy has developed from critical pedagogy that is associated with eminent scholars such as Paulo Freire and Giroux. Giroux (1994:30) delineates Critical Pedagogy as signalling:

How questions of audience, voice, power, and evaluation actively work to construct particular relations between teachers and students, institutions and society, and classrooms and communities Pedagogy in the critical sense illuminates the relationship among knowledge, authority, and power.

Barbules et al (1997) add the dimension of transformation to critical pedagogy. They assert that

The primary preoccupation of critical pedagogy is with social injustice and how to transform inequitable, undemocratic, or oppressive institutions and social relations.

Applying it to language in education, Cummins (2000a: 5) discusses the potential of various forms of bilingual instruction to promote a transformative pedagogy that will therefore challenge patterns of coercive power relations in both the school and society in order to reverse the pattern of underachievement. He elucidates:

Transformative pedagogy uses collaborative critical inquiry to enable students to relate curriculum content to their individual and collective experience and to analyze broader social issues relevant to their lives. It also encourages students to discuss ways in which social realities might be transformed through various forms of democratic participation and social action... it will strive to develop a critical literacy (2000a: 90)

Figure 1 below illustrates how the tenets of Transformative pedagogy compare with traditional and constructivist pedagogies:

Figure 4: Assumptions Underlying Traditional, Constructivist and Transformative Pedagogies.

Fig 2				INSTRUCTION AND SOCIAL ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING TRADITIONAL, CONSTRUCTIVIST AND TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY		
Traditional		Constructivist		Transformative		
Instructional Assumptions						
LANGUAGE						
Decomposed		Whole		Whole		
KNOWLEDGE						
Static/Inert		Catalytic		Catalytic		
LEARNING						
Hierarchical internalisation from simple to complex		Joint interactive construction through collaborative inquiry		Joint interactive construction through critical inquiry		
Social Assumptions						
CURRICULUM						
Transmission of “sanitized with respect to power relations”		Celebrated differences but implicitly sanitized with respect to power relations		Focused on critical examination of student experience and social realities; explicit attention to power relations		
STUDENT OUTCOMES						
Compliant/Uncritical		Compliant/Uncritical		Empowered/Critical		

Figure 5: Transformative Pedagogy in perspective
Source Cummins 2001: 202

Cummins proposes the Transformative Pedagogy framework as a way of developing a focus on literacy for empowerment. He bases this on the orientation to critical literacy advocated by Alma Flor Ada (1988a, 1988b). This framework aims to provide a guide to the operation of a pedagogy that will effectively promote second language learners' linguistic and cognitive development as it also encourages the growth of their critical literacy skills. It is based on the assumption that cognitive challenge and intrinsic motivation are necessary in the interactions between students and teachers if learning is to be optimised.

To explain this framework, Cummins starts off with the assertion that meaning and messages need to be conveyed for pedagogy to be effective (Focus on Message). On top of this, though, most applied linguists, also assign a role to (a) a focus on formal features of the target language, (b) development of effective learning strategies, and (c) actual use of the target language. Cummins incorporates these components in the Focus on Language and Focus on Use components of the framework. I will now examine each section.

The **Focus on Message** component argues that the interpretation of *comprehensible input* must go beyond just literal comprehension and extend into critical literacy. This implies a process whereby students relate textual and instructional meanings to their own experience and prior knowledge (i.e. activate their cognitive schemata), critically analyze the information in the text (e.g. evaluate the validity of various arguments or propositions), and use the results of their discussions and analyses in some concrete, intrinsically-motivating activity or project (e.g. making a video or writing a poem or essay on a particular topic).

In short, for learning of academic content, the notion of *comprehensible input* must move beyond literal, surface-level comprehension to a deeper level of cognitive and linguistic processing. Emphatically, for our case the input must be in a language the students can relate to. At this stage fundamentally, students need to understand and conceptualise the actual meaning of the text for them to be able to look at it critically.

Under the **Focus on Language** component (see figure 4 below) Cummins places all issues of not only *Language Awareness* but indeed, *Critical Language Awareness*, which explores the relationships between language and power (See Fairclough 1992). Here, he gives examples of how students might carry out research on the different statuses accorded to diverse languages and varieties of languages. They might want to know why a certain variety is considered superior to another. They might also analyse 'letters to the editor' about languages and cue out ideas raised and question why some kinds of letters tend to get published while others do not. Also multilingual strategies such as code switching can be explored here.

In other words we should go beyond focusing on formal features of language and integrate these with issues of language and power. In addition to this, in order for pedagogy to be effective, it should incorporate extensive input in the target language (such as through reading) and extensive opportunities for written and oral use of the language.

The **Focus on Use** component is based on the notion that language is meant to be put into action and not just learnt in an abstract way if students are to express their identities and aptitude. He gives three examples of language use that comprises

critical literacy as *generate new knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities*. He further argues that if language is to develop students' empowerment then it must be used to augment students' intellectual, aesthetic, and social identities for it to contribute to student empowerment.

Cummins demonstrates a good example of students engaging in self-expression where they critically reflect on their identities and create more inter-personal space. This can be seen in the success of the Oyster School bilingual program as shown in Freeman's (1998) account. Here, school ethos encourages students to reject the discourse of disempowerment seen in the society by the way they interact with their teachers. Cummins attributes the success of this school to the way identities are negotiated between teachers and students. He advises that others interested in Enriched Education should combine biliteracy with a transformative pedagogy that affirms students' identities while simultaneously challenging coercive relations of power.

This framework is based on the understanding that it is through micro-interactions between educators and students that coercive relations of power operate. Thus students, teachers and the community at large can work to challenge this coercive process. Even though social and educational structures will impose constraints on the resistance they will not succeed if educators are empowered in the way they negotiate identities with students and the community. An example of challenging this coercive process can be seen in Gardner (2006). Here we see a situation where the teachers and learning assistants interact with each other and with the pupils to create a positive learning environment without coercive power relations.

Meaning construction is a collaborative task with all participants getting a fair chance to contribute their understanding of concepts.

I adapt Cummins' framework to the distinctive setting of a refugee camp and develop the framework shown in figure 4 below. In this framework I incorporate what Cummins proposes that is relevant to the temporary context of a refugee camp. I have also indicated the influences that contribute to ambivalent or insecure and usually subordinated identity manifested in attitudes to languages' in the camp. These are 'coercive relations of power manifested in the language-in-education policy and ideologies' and 'Practical constraints due to trauma and realities faced in camp conditions.' For the refugees in a transitory camp situation the prospects of resettlement have a major impact on their attitude to languages, especially to English. With the harsh Kenyan policy of denying reintegration into the community, the only options left to refugees are resettlement to a third country and repatriation, to some, anathema. Thus, many denigrate languages that cannot seem to help them achieve the resettlement. Since Anglophone countries offer 98% of resettlement chances it becomes a case of 'English is must to us' (TA, Sud, F). This is reinforced by discourses reflecting ideologies such as the maximum exposure and subtractive fallacies (Phillipson 1992, 1999). Similarly, trauma makes some refugees refuse to even consider the prospect of repatriation as they have lost their trust in their own countries due to loss of family and livelihood. For those, resettlement, especially to the USA is virtually the only option and they pursue it with all their might.

The Focus on Message, Focus on Language and Focus on Use components of Transformative pedagogy is quite similar to Cummins'. However, I have added

emphasis on multilingualism. Cummins' usually emphasises two languages but many African refugees are competent in at least their mother tongue, and a community language such as Swahili or Arabic. Some also know a foreign language such as French or Italian. This provides a good opportunity for developing at least biliteracy in the community language if not in one's own mother tongue, as well as in English for full advantage. The important point is that whatever language is used should make input comprehensible for the learner and enable her/him develop critical literacy skills. They should also be able to use the language creatively and to change their social situations. Transformative pedagogy can enable them to appreciate all languages without accepting ideologies and fallacies no matter how popular. The outcome of such education will be academically and personally empowered students ready to contribute to changing their situations.

TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY IN A REFUGEE CAMP

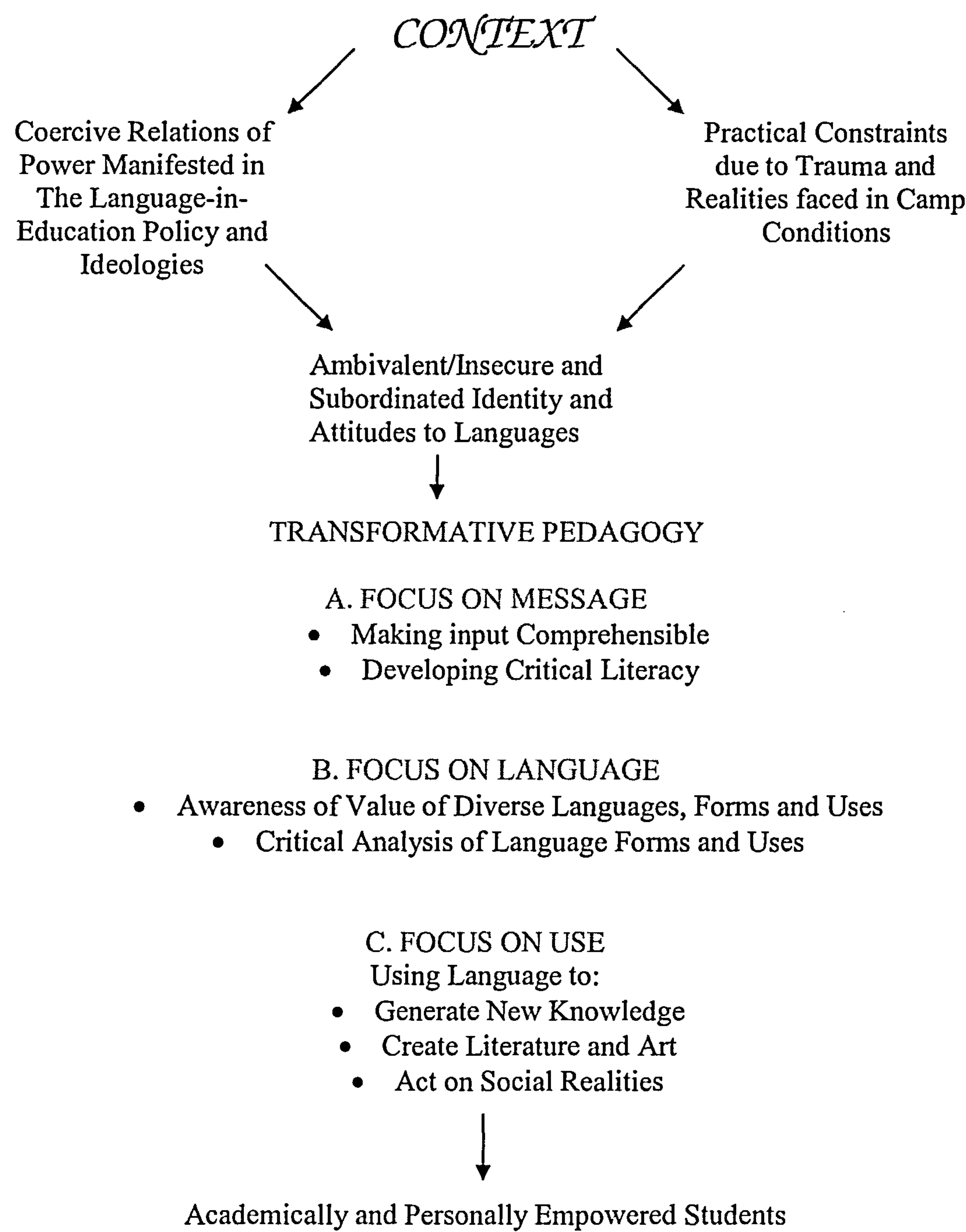


Figure 6: A framework for Transformative Pedagogy in a Refugee Camp, developed from Cummins 2001

3.2 Linguistic Imperialism

To add onto Transformative Pedagogy, I also use Phillipson's Linguistic Imperialism framework in this thesis. This is because the political influences and policies are well captured by Phillipson. In section 2.0 above we saw Phillipson's (1992) definition of English linguistic imperialism as a specific type of linguicism where 'the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continual reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages' (p47). He further explains linguistic imperialism as entailing 'unequal exchange and unequal communicative rights between people or groups defined in terms of their competence in specific languages, with unequal benefits as a result, in a system that legitimates and naturalizes such exploitation'. (Phillipson 2006: 348-349). We saw how linguistic imperialism was commonly carried out in the nation states by privileging certain languages and seeking to eradicate others. They often forced minority speakers to speak the dominant language, resulting in language shifts. Similarly, in colonial countries there was a lot of language engineering that in some places led to language shift especially in settler countries like Australia and New Zealand.

Canagarajah (1999), like me, agrees with Phillipson that there have been (and continue to be) inequitable practices associated with language. However, Canagarajah takes issue with Phillipson's definition on the exact role that language plays. He asserts that much as it is very insightful to see language in this manner as a tool that is involved in hegemony of developed countries, we should scrutinize the actual position of language. According to the first definition (linguicism) language functions as one of the possible ways of categorizing

communities to perpetuate inequalities. What enables this dominance are 'ideologies, structures and practices' that are considered extra-linguistic. In other words, language does not effect this inequality-it is just an arbitrary construct exploited by politico-economic structures to carry out their own agenda of dominance. The second definition, that of linguistic imperialism, similarly sees the dominance of English as maintained and reconstituted by pre-existing, pre-linguistic, and presumably, more fundamental structural and cultural inequalities'. In fact, as Canagarajah points out, Phillipson eventually declares that language in itself is not good or evil- it is only made to appear evil by the power structures.

Canagarajah maintains, however, that this perspective fails to probe some of the subtler ways in which language is implicated in imperialism. 'When language is defined as a semiotic system that encodes ideologies and possesses the power to reproduce politico-economic structures', he affirms, 'the connection with imperialism can be perceived in more direct ways. It is now possible to understand how language embodies and sustains the 'ideologies, structures, and practices' to effect inequality. The dominance of English is therefore not only a *result* of politico-economic inequalities between the center and the periphery; it is also a *cause* of these inequalities' (Canagarajah: 1999: 47).

3.2.1 Criticisms of linguistic imperialism

The first censure of Phillipson (1992) has to do with methodology. Phillipson's data collection limited his conclusions as he did not grasp the language situations on the ground and instead dwelt on the broader, more generalised philosophies. For instance, Canagarajah (1999) compares Holliday's (1994) project, which

explores the cultural conflicts that result from center-sponsored ELT pedagogy in the periphery, and Phillipson's (1992) project. He affirms that Holliday offers what in many respects is a much-needed balance to Phillipson's approach.

While Phillipson explores the subject from a macro-level orientation, Holliday develops a micro-level perspective emerging from instructional practices. Holliday takes us to specific periphery communities to provide vignettes of teaching experiences there. A consequence of this approach is that while Phillipson suggests the political domination of the periphery through ELT to be somewhat inexorable, Holliday shows the different layers of culture and context in the local teaching situations that complicate the unilateral domination. In other words, Holliday's perspective suggests how and why ideological domination by the center is not always guaranteed (Canagarajah 1999: 48).

In terms of theoretical underpinning, however, Canagarajah sees Holliday's approach as lacking in theoretical grounding (comparable to Phillipson's) that would enable him to interpret his data in the light of emerging developments in critical scholarship. For instance, Holliday's categories are mixed up between nations and levels of education. In contrast, 'Phillipson's categories *center* and *periphery* tap a long tradition of scholarship in political economy and situate ELT directly in the global socio-political nexus' (Canagarajah 1999:43).

Apart from the methodological approach Phillipson is also criticised for the very concepts of 'linguicism' and 'linguistic imperialism'. We saw in section 2.0.2 how

Spolsky (2004) and others reject the idea of there being a specific imperialism that is 'linguistic'. It almost seems that Phillipson is attacked from two opposite ends. On the one hand there is Canagarajah (1999) and the school of thought that ascribes power to language itself claiming it is not innocent but is a *cause* of inequalities in the world. On the other hand there is Spolsky and the other school of thought that seems to say 'language *is* innocent. There is no linguistic imperialism but English just happens to be at the right place at the right time and thus spreads as other forms of imperialism spread'.

The latter would argue that saying otherwise means that the spread of English has been extra carefully planned. In fact Spolsky (2004) points out how many instances of language planning have been unsuccessful in spite of much careful planning and financial commitment. So, he argues, English just spread because it spread. It was not a planned move and there is, in fact no linguisticism in its spread. People choose to speak whichever language suits them and by so doing cannot be said to be involved in the death of the languages being replaced by English.

This apparent neutrality and innocence of English is also expounded in Crystal (2003) in which he outlines numerous developments in the use of language in new technology, without evident interest in issues of justice or hegemony. Further, with what would appear extreme naivety and short sightedness to an advocate of the linguisticism theory Graddol (2006:112) plunges on:

The concept of linguistic imperialism ...does not wholly explain the current enthusiasm for English, which seems driven primarily by parental

and governmental demand, rather than promotion by Anglophone countries. Trying to understand the reasons for the continuing adoption of English and its consequences within the imperialism framework may even have the ironic effect of keeping native speakers centre-stage, flattering their self-importance in a world that is fast passing them by.

Surprisingly then, the foreword to his very book seems to imply the urgent need to 'do something or else the position of English will be taken by Chinese or other languages'. He expresses fears that if more is not done to maintain the status of English then the international students that study in the UK would reduce and with it the cultural influence:

The English language teaching sector directly earns nearly £1.3 billion for the UK in invisible exports and our other education related exports earn up to £10 billion a year more. ... The anticipation of possible shifts in demand provided by this study gives all interests and organisations that seek to nourish the learning and use of English with a basis for planning to meet the eventualities of what could be a very different operating environment in a decade's time. That is a necessary and practical approach. In this as in much else, those who wish to influence the future must prepare for it.

Rt Hon Lord Neil Kinnock

Chair of the British Council (Foreword)

It is healthy to regard both perspectives and indeed Canagarajah (1999) has also argued for the need to go beyond linguistic imperialism when explaining the

current demand for and use of English. Notwithstanding, Phillipson (1992, 1999), Pennycook (1998) and others have done too careful a historical analysis of linguistic imperialism for the concept to be dismissed as inconsequential. At least in the former colonies there is a chance that there has been a good amount of careful planning that has resulted in English gaining an advantage over other languages. Yet one can still allow for the view that the motive was not always to promote English per se but how best to govern the colonies effectively. Thus, I would conclude by saying that if each group listened to the other they would find that they did not quite differ on the crux of the matter. It's just what aspect one chooses to emphasise. That's why I frame the work in linguistic imperialism and also consider Canagarajah's development of this issue in the Critical Ethnography methodology.

3.3 World Englishes

Briefly, Kachru (1985, 1994) argues that English is virtually used in the whole world and where it is not yet fully established it is only a matter of time before English gets there. There is no stopping English as it is the most favoured international language and far outweighs its competitors. Kachru divides the English-speaking world into three groups. The first group consists of the core English speaking countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America, as well as Australia and New Zealand. These countries have many native English speakers and so English is the commonest language spoken.

In the 'Outer circle' Kachru places mostly former British colonies such as India, Nigeria, Kenya where English is spoken as a second language. However, in this outer circle we have a growing number of speakers for whom English is their L1.

Indeed, we now have varieties such as Indian English, Nigerian English, Kenyan English, and South African English. It would be futile to try to tell these former colonies that the English they were speaking was not 'proper English' as they have established their own 'Englishes' that they often do not bother trying to make similar to the Queen's English.

In the outer-most circle, the expanding circle, he places countries that English usage is rapidly expanding to and the language is often the preferred foreign language. These countries were not English colonies but are continually choosing to learn to speak English and use it for different official purposes. Kachru argues that more and more countries are choosing English as their option foreign language and soon the whole world will be speaking English.

Thus, we find that English has and is still spreading worldwide. He argues that it is futile to try to stop this spread but instead countries should adopt and, so to say, appropriate the English language as globalisation makes the world a smaller place. It is important not to be left behind but all should as it were jump on the English bandwagon and use this all-international language, albeit, in our own forms. This idea is similar to Bakhtin's (1986) notion of 'appropriation' whereby people decide to utilise a borrowed language for their own purposes.

The spread of English has often been captured by the following simple illustration:

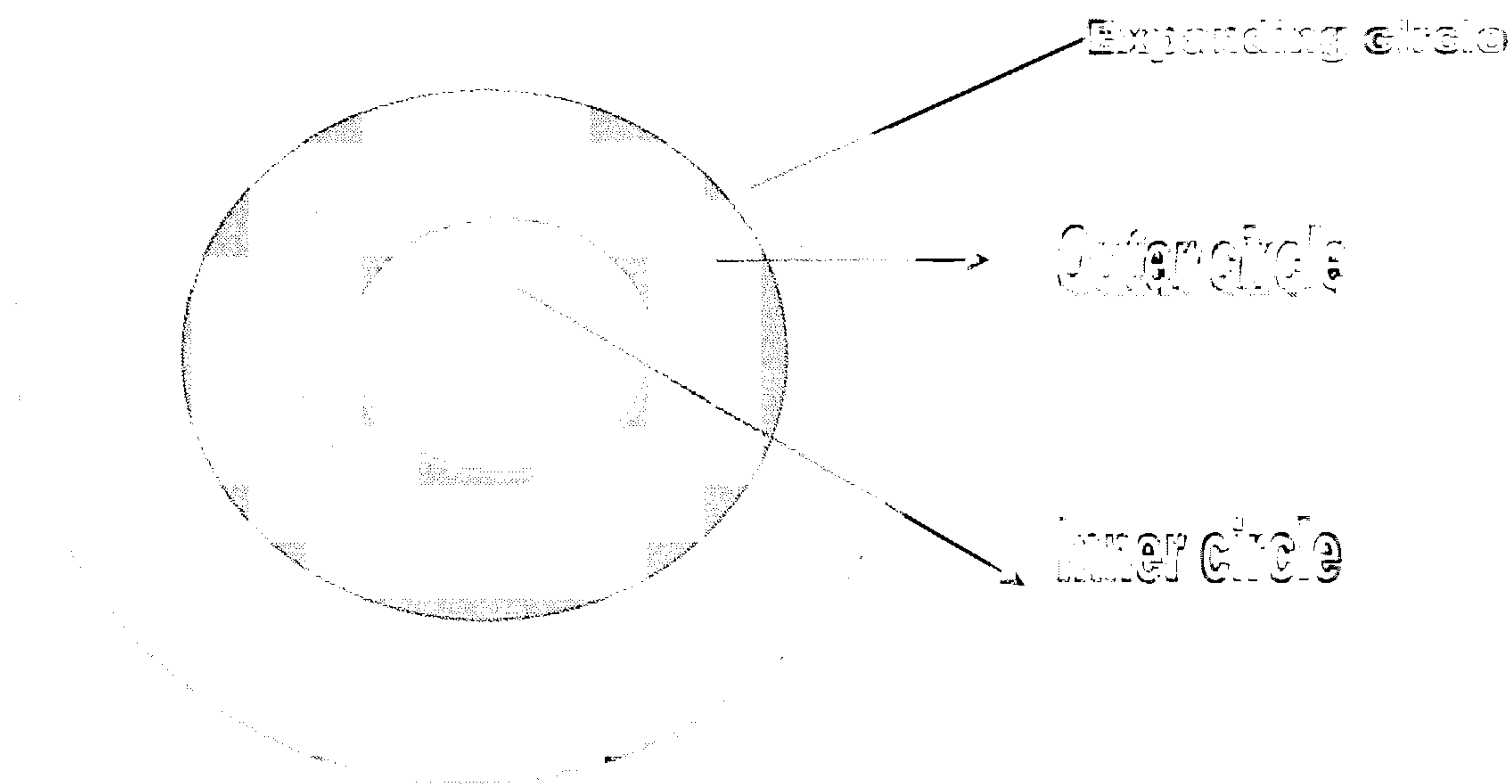


Figure 7: The Spread of English around the World

Source Kachru 1985

3.4.1 Criticism of World Englishes

With passage of time the circle distinctions have become blurred. Due to colonialism English spread to many parts of the world and has become the first language of many speakers. These can hardly be called second language speakers as it has become native to them. It may not be exactly the same 'English' as that spoken in the United Kingdom or the United States but it is English in its own merit. In fact, Kachru himself (1997) now refers to the inner circle as highly proficient speakers of English – those who have 'functional nativeness' regardless of how they learned or use the language. This notwithstanding, there are still a lot of tensions over what should really qualify as 'real' or Standard English. Though the various varieties are beginning to gain acceptance they still have to grapple

with Standard English. This variety may not have any real native speakers observing all the correct rules, nevertheless, it is still considered superior and speakers of other Englishes find that they have to resort to it, especially when in the core (inner circle) countries.

This point is picked up in Tollefson (1991), who argues that discrimination can occur on the basis of which English one speaks in a way that shows power differentials. A speaker of these Englishes, for example, can have advantages in their own countries and yet face drawbacks when in the US or UK where their variety of English is frowned upon. These conflicts can be seen within especially in the outer circle among multilingual speakers 'who see themselves as native to English through their acts of localization and yet lack ownership over the language because of colonialist discourses' (Canagarajah, 2006:195).

My other criticism of Kachru (1994) is from the standpoint of linguistic imperialism. Kachru seems to adopt an uncritical acceptance of English as an international language and does not question deeply enough how English came to occupy such a central position especially in the outer circle countries. He also seems to 'legitimate the hegemony of English' (Tsui 2005) by accepting things as they are, and appears to say 'Well, we are here so let us make the most of our situation'. He does not appear to mind that the spread of English has been questioned by a variety of scholars and there are many that feel that they should not give in to English without a fight. Even in core countries such as the United

Kingdom we have the struggle for the repositioning of Welsh and Gaelic alongside English.

Finally, the generally accepted ideas stated in Kachru (1985) have advanced so far that Crystal (1988, 2003) fears soon the various Englishes will become mutually unintelligible. He urges an international Standard English (Global English) be maintained alongside the Englishes or else English should follow the fate of Latin and disintegrate into many mutually unintelligible, albeit related languages:

We may, in due course, all need to be in control of two standard Englishes—the one which gives us our national and local identity, and the other which puts us in touch with the rest of the human race. In effect, we may all need to become bilingual in our own language Crystal (1988: 265).

3.5 Summary

In this chapter I have examined the theoretical frameworks in which our study is conceptualised. Principally, Phillipson's (1992, 1999, 2006) linguistic imperialism is the chosen main theory that captures the issues raised in this thesis. This is because Phillipson questions the apparently unfair positioning of languages especially with English on the apex of all the others. I have argued that the language experiences of refugee children in the Kenyan camp are very much influenced by factors beyond simple choices of what is in the best interests of the learners. Linguistic imperialism questions even the apparent preference of English among the learners themselves and, ostensibly, implies that their choices are

highly influenced by politico-economic factors stronger than themselves. I have looked at the merits of linguistic imperialism and the criticisms levelled against it.

I have also examined Cummins' (2000) Transformative Pedagogy Framework. This is a refinement of the BICS/CALP theory. This interested me because of the way it explains the different times it takes to achieve proficiency in a new language. Whereas BICS is easily acquired, as it is context enriched, CALP takes five-to seven years to achieve proficiency enough to be used in academic contexts and in the case of multilingual refugees even more years. Thus to educate children in a language they are hardly proficient in contributes to unsavoury experiences, such as waste, loss and dropout.

I have also examined Kachru (1985, 1997) who argues that the English language has become a truly international language, to the extent that it cannot be claimed to belong to any one group. We now have Indian English, Kenyan English, Australian English, and Nigerian English, to name a few. The colonial experience has meant that English has spread far and wide and established roots all over. Even countries that were not directly colonised have adapted the English language and appropriated it for their needs in globalisation. Thus, many countries have developed their own varieties of English that should be accepted without being compared to the traditional 'native speaker'. There is neither the desire nor the aim to imitate the Queen's English or Standard British English and, therefore, for some of the users of these 'Englishes' this has become their mother tongues hence they qualify as varieties of English deserving official recognition. I have also looked at the weaknesses in Kachru's distinctions, pointing out that they have

become blurred. As time changes language use changes and concepts such as who a native speaker is diversify.

In the next chapter I take a look at the methodology of the study, exploring Critical Ethnography as espoused in Canagarajah (1999).

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Chapters one and two gave the background to the study, both physical and ideological, and reviewed related literature. The associated conceptual frameworks were explored in chapter three. In this chapter I shall discuss the methodology used to elicit, collect, interpret and analyse data. I worked within an ethnographic tradition and thus incorporated a range of methods to collect data with a clear focus on the learners' point of view, as it emerged through everyday language, behaviour, and other cultural practices in the natural social contexts of occurrence. The ethnographic method seeks intimate knowledge of the case under study. I, therefore, tried both to analyse nuances of day-to-day behaviour (Creese, 2005) and also placed language experiences in context in society.

I have taken interest in refugee issues since 2000 when I went to the six week long CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa) Governance Institute on 'Migration and Citizenship in Africa' in Dakar, Senegal. Here I discussed issues to do with refugees and I presented a paper concerning language issues in migration and citizenship. I was able to discuss with other scholars drawn from Africa and the Diaspora on questions relating to this theme as well as doing some reading around this theme and examining official documents in various libraries in Dakar that are affiliated to CODESRIA. At that time of my research I was not able to visit Kakuma Camp itself, but visited schools set up by refugees from francophone countries, especially Rwanda, Burundi and Congo in Nairobi, where they prefer to continue with their own French based system of education rather than adapt the Kenyan system. Getting

permission to enter the camp was one big challenge I encountered. It was while dealing with this that I decided to investigate why these refugees seemed to shun our Kenyan education system, and I suspected language was one of the chief concerns.

4.0 Reconnaissance visit

As a follow up to the language question I decided to investigate multilingualism in a camp. I resolved to visit the camp itself and the opportunity came up when my abstract for the 34th BAAL seminar on 'Unity and Diversity in Language Use' was accepted and I needed to carry out a study to write up my conference paper. I started on the task of negotiating access to the camp. I got a letter of introduction from the Deputy Vice-Chancellor in Charge of Research in Egerton University (where I am based), and this was a great aid to me. I visited several NGOs working with refugees and the UNHCR itself to try and gain access to Kakuma Camp- a formidable task indeed. It was while interviewing an official of the UNHCR on my theme that the availability of free flights came about as serendipity. At that time the IOM (International Organisation for Migration) was at the peak of resettling the Lost Boys to the USA. Thus there were free flights to Kakuma, as the planes would go there virtually empty and return with the refugees on their way to the USA. Even then I learnt that I had to go to the Ministry of Home Affairs to get written permission to visit the camp. I also had to get permission from the UNHCR offices in the camp itself to allow me in as security issues were of immense concern. Actually, I waited for this letter for such a long time that I started running out of time, as the conference was only three weeks away. I decided to brave it and go to the camp without in point of fact having

received the letter, but armed with the letters from the University and the Ministry. On arrival there I had a rough time as the then LWF camp-manager said I could not leave my room until he received confirmation from the UNHCR that I was expected. Fortunately, for me the letter had been ready but somehow had not been passed on to me and I was accorded a grand reception and allocated powerful four-wheel drive cars to take me round the camp.

4.0.1 Negotiating Access

It was with such a background that I knew I had to start early if I was to get admittance to the camp for the extended visit I would need for my ethnographic study. Therefore, I wrote my letters seeking permission to visit the camp early enough. Fortunately for me, I got my letter from the Ministry without too much official red tape (contrary to what was common with government offices in Kenya then). In spite of this, the whole process of seeking permission till the time I was able to go to the camp lasted six months. I was even in a better position owing to my earlier experience, as I met other researchers at the UNHCR offices who were completely stranded. This was because I got advice that in order to gain access to the camp it would be easier to apply as a member of an NGO or other partners working with the UNHCR to provide services to the refugees. Even this is not easy as there are too many students wishing to volunteer their services. I had never known before that volunteering services was such a privilege! Providentially, for me, as a teacher of English I was able to join up with Windle Trust, a charity that provides English Language courses to refugees in the camp and they accepted me as a teacher. This gave me the much-needed opportunity to engage in participant observation.

4.0.2 Arrival at the camp

Unlike in 2001 when there were free flights, this time I had to travel around 800 kilometres by road to the camp. After Kitale, 300 Kilometres from Nairobi the terrain became very rough and there was the danger of lurking highway bandits who occasionally attack travellers, shoot some and rob them. The journey took a whole day from Kitale and I arrived at Kakuma Camp at 10:00pm, hot and thirsty but safely. Staff from Windle Trust Kenya received me and immediately we had an impromptu meeting to allocate me my duties. I was to teach at the camp from the beginning of October to end of December 2003 when the schools closed for Christmas.

On the day after my arrival at the camp I was taken to visit the head teachers in their schools and seek permission to observe their schools. I found them enthusiastic as many of them had been students of the Windle Trust Advanced classes and many appeared interested in being interviewed.

Being a volunteer gave me the opportunity to access the camp but it had its challenges too. Being short of teachers there was quite a workload prepared for me, which I was happy to take on but with implications that I would have to work extra hard as I was thus given plenty of work. I was given a teachers' upgrade course, whereby I had to teach English to teachers working in camp schools. I had to teach them between 11:00am and 1:00pm on Mondays and Tuesdays. And then I had to visit them in their schools to assess their teaching early in the mornings. On a typical Monday or Tuesday I would start my day at 7:00am by visiting

schools from 7:00am to 10:00am to see the student teachers in action. Then I would proceed to teach the LWF Teachers' Upgrade lesson between 10:30 am and 12:00pm. After that I would go for my classroom observations in Kakuma Refugee Secondary School where I would observe lessons until 1:30pm when the school day ends, on account of the extreme heat. In the afternoons I would carry out my interviews or prepare for and mark students' work, which was also part of my data collection.

On Wednesdays to Fridays I would go for the secondary school observations in the morning at 11:00 am to 1:30 pm. Then I would have my lunch break between 1:30pm and 2:45pm in readiness for the afternoon KAELP Class (Kakuma Advanced English Language Programme). Here, I would teach English to the Advanced English students until 5:00pm or 5:30pm or until the driver came to pick me up. In the evening I would sort out what data I had collected but also tried to talk to other NGO workers over dinner in order to find out more about the goings on in the camp. This is commensurate with ethnographic research which does not leave out any aspect of life but tries to investigate all (Creese 2005), especially in this case whereby I had to analyse possible influences on the attitudes of the learners. Finding out from the other NGO workers provided a good source of data too and a good source of corroborating what I had been observing during the day.

4.1 Ethnography

Before I discuss what Critical ethnography is, I here consider what traditional ethnography basically entails. 'Ethnography' both refers to the fundamental

method of cultural anthropology and the written text of an ethnographic investigation. Hall (2007) explicates ethnography as a method that seeks to answer central anthropological questions on how people live and, on the development of their culture and behaviour. Hence, the database for ethnographies includes extensive description of the details of social life or cultural phenomena. To answer their research questions and gather research material, ethnographers have to visit the site and live there for a substantial amount of time. While on site, they must participate in the lives of the people, both in big ceremonies and in day-to-day life as they keenly observe the goings-on. Hall points out that by participating in the lives of the communities,

The ethnographers gather an **"emic" perspective**, or the **"native's point(s) of view"** *without imposing their own conceptual frameworks*.

The emic worldview, which may be quite different from the **"etic"**, or **outsider's perspective** on local life, is a unique and critical part of anthropology. Through the participant observation method, ethnographers record detailed field notes, conduct interviews based on open-ended questions, and gather whatever site documents might be available in the setting as data. (Hall 2007:6 emphases in original).

She explains further that completed ethnography generally both speaks to and adds to established anthropological theory: 'It is through theory that ethnographic data gains meaning' (*op cit*). When applied to what is learnt in the field, the theories lead to a better understanding of specific instances of social life in field contexts. The popular theories in ethnography include 'Gender as a social

construct' as expounded by theorists such as Peggy Sanday, Jane Collier, and, Sherry Ortner. These help illuminate much about cultural variation concerning such topics as divisions of labour, kinship, politics, and other aspects of the lives of women and men live. Symbolism as portrayed by among others, Clifford Geertz demonstrates the ways in which people interpret the meanings of symbols and leads to understanding their worldviews. Finally, and of direct relevance to this thesis we have the theme of power as explored by Michel Foucault. According to Foucault, power allows certain people to define what is possible for others' actions. Power has peripheral effects that affect people's understandings of how things work in their social lives. Hall notes that these effects of power can be subtle or even unnoticed by those affected by it.

The theme of power differentials occurs commonly in this thesis. In the Transformative Pedagogy framework expounded in chapter three I found a lot that draws from Foucault's theory of power discrepancies. For instance, as a participant observer teaching in the camp I had good access to information. I was, therefore, able to experience some of the 'insider values' while also remaining largely an outsider as I was in reality as student carrying out research. Thus, I have to acknowledge my powerful position advantage.

I now elucidate what is involved in Critical Ethnography and where it deviates from 'traditional' ethnography.

4.1.2 Critical Ethnography

Canagarajah (1999) urges a cautious approach to using ethnography since it often constrains one to merely report the perspective of the subjects without taking the liberty to interpret. Doing so is regarded as defeating the very purpose of

participant observation, which, in principle, is meant to give the perspectives of the subjects without 'passing any judgement'. Centralising the views of the subjects and trying as much as is possible to subjugate our own ideas is a key aspect to this kind of research (Creese 2003). In fact, it is recommended that we go to the field without any preconceived categories. We should not impose outsider categories but the approach should induce "analytic categories that participants either articulate or presuppose in their action." There must be "evidence that participants themselves are presupposing categories central to the analysis" (Wortham, 2003:18).

The anthropological carry-forward into ethnography has its strengths, especially concerning authenticity, but it can be too limiting. This is especially so in that a fuller outlook is essential to understand better some of what we observe in a community. Canagarajah (1999) brings out this dilemma when he remarks:

The strength of traditional ethnography lies in its focus on the local, particular, and concrete. However, this microscopic focus on the local has usually influenced ethnography to ignore the larger, macro-level, socio-political forces. ...The challenge, however, is not just to connect the local with the global, the concrete with the abstract, and structure with history, but to do so with a critical edge. In other words, the purpose of meshing these domains is to better understand the potential of culture to lead that community towards domination or empowerment. This task is not served by a noncommittal description of culture. Ethnography becomes a personally committed interpretive activity, whereby the researcher

attempts to explicate the cultural strands that may facilitate community empowerment and self-determination. Such concerns are difficult to develop from the tradition of *descriptive ethnography* hitherto practiced, which adopts a detached, value-free, egalitarian view of culture. What is needed is a *critical ethnography* that can build an element of ideological critique into cultural description. (P48).

Canagarajah (1999) says he was inspired to carry out a critical ethnography when he realised that even descriptive ethnography itself had inherent ideological biases and prejudices. An uncritical ethnography can and has been easily used by dominant communities for their political purposes. He cites Hymes (1969) who explores the manner in which ethnography has served the imperialistic purposes of western regimes. He laments that 'Colonial administrators have used ethnographic knowledge to understand the culture of periphery communities to make their rule effective, and to expropriate their cultural resources and artifacts' (p 48).

Canagarajah also compares some of the pros and cons of critical ethnography against an uncritical one:

There are many challenges to be faced in adopting a critical ethnography; not least the ethnographer's need for more interpretive freedom than would typically be allowed to articulate the meanings of the informants. While traditional ethnography has claimed to treat the words of the informants from the community as sacrosanct, critical ethnography analyzes the words

in relation to the larger historical processes and social contradictions, searching for the hidden forces that structure life. While descriptive ethnography would attempt to smooth over the contradictions among informants, critical ethnography considers the explanation of these contradictions to be its very quest (Willis 1978: 18). Although this raises the difficult problem of the (often alien) ethnographer claiming to have more knowledge of the community than the members themselves, others such as Geertz (1983) have explained this as a strength of the disciplined outsider.

For the society members their lives are merely lived day by day, but an outsider has the advantage of looking at things from a different perspective and rationalising what he/she sees. Needless to say he/she must confirm what they find. Geertz describes the challenge as one of balancing the insider's 'experience near' view of culture with the outsider's 'experience far' perspective (*ibid*: 55-70). (Canagarajah 1999: 48).

I agree with Canagarajah, but it is worth noting that ethnography does not necessarily try to 'smooth over' contradictions among informants. It attempts to interpret things subtly so as to incorporate them all. Critical ethnography on the other hand will try to follow up each inconsistency to establish what it reveals at a deeper level. Besides, it is worth noting that Critical Ethnography is not to be taken as an alternative to ethnography 'proper', but rather the 'critical' indicates an emphasis on certain aspects, for instance, emphasising the goal of change or transformation and adding the ideological critique into cultural description. (More

in 4.1.3 below). Ethnography and its methods have now moved from being only focused on the 'exotic', with all the risks that carries of demeaning the observed, to focusing on any group, and using fieldwork methods to investigate social groups and their patterns of behaviour in any context, and their own view of their situation. The key characteristic of such an approach is that the emphasis is on achieving real depth of understanding by extensive participant observation (within which interviews and other devices may be used as appropriate). The purpose is to gain intimate insights which would never be accessible through e.g. interview alone, or by any other means, but which can be sought by participating in the life of the group/ the situation/ the people who are the focus of the research. But despite close personal involvement, it is also essential to be able to be objective, and the ability to analyse objectively is, in effect, the measure of the skill of the proficient researcher.

This kind of research and these principles have been developed not primarily among linguists but among a wide range of social scientists/ sociologists, including many who are particularly interested in education. But linguists have used them in order to investigate patterns of language use – associated with other aspects of social life. For a restatement of basic principles, it may be useful to. Burgess (1993) is a good example of this development.

Having described data explicitly, ethnography should not stop there. I note here the observation by Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1995) that 'thick description can

still lead to thin explanation'. What is required is, therefore, 'thick explanation' found by paying attention to different contextual levels. Thus a proper analysis needs to be done to include both macro and micro findings and these should be properly theorised in order to present an accurate state of affairs and instigate any necessary changes.

4.1.3 Criteria for Critical Ethnography

What then is involved in Critical Ethnography? Is it as Maseman (1982) tried to define it, utilisation of anthropological methods while deriving ideological standpoints from critical sociology and philosophy?

Campbell (1999) rejects the apparent suggestion that the method is the same but the difference is in the reason for the method. He avers that 'one cannot simply adopt uncritically the methods used by others and expect to produce 'reliable' data (Campbell (1999:4)). In fact, Critical Ethnography is not a very easy concept to define. Quantz (1992) compares it to social reality, which cannot easily be defined with precision. However, Campbell (*ibid*) outlines certain principles that need to be in place for the ethnography to be critical as opposed to ethnographies whose purpose is merely to describe and interpret cultural realities with no aim to change things. He elucidates these from Simon and Dippo's (1986) criteria and notes that first to be critical ethnography it should:

...Study the social practices operating in groups, which determine action and meaning. These social practices are verbal and non-verbal, seen and unseen, open and at times suppressed. These practices are culturally

influenced and therefore any critical ethnographic study requires questioning of macro issues of power, ideology and culture. Not only must critical ethnographers study groups but also they must encourage a critique and involve themselves in challenging inequitable social practices and unjust social structures and institutions. Critical ethnography attempts to enable people to see their actions in a wider socio-historical context. (Campbell 1999: 4)

The second criterion is that the critique must be emancipatory. It should encourage people to understand their own actions and the historical and social contexts in which they are acting (*ibid*). Unlike traditional ethnography, critical ethnography must have the emancipatory interest as its key insight.

Finally, the researchers must be reflective practitioners. They are challenged to become more aware of the historical and cultural influences that shape their own beliefs and values. In other words, they not only need to acknowledge their own subjectivity (as all research must of necessity do) but become more reflective of their own role as being in a position of power.

I agree with Campbell here, and, in fact, even the application of the methods must reflect a critical edge. In my questioning in interviews I tried to carefully balance things to give the subjects a chance to express their own version of things and I respected these. Yet I did not just record these as their views but tried to encourage and allow them to reflect upon the socio-historical influences affecting

their positions and see if they would care to do anything about what they felt should be changed.

Bearing these points in mind this research project was done with as open a mind as possible to enable the refugees to voice their ideas, yet with an urge to them to guide them to reflect upon the influences guiding their attitudes and stated preferences. Caution was taken to ensure my position of power was carefully subordinated to encourage a friendly approachable interaction especially by my role as participant observer. Throughout the research I made an effort to question critically beliefs, values, practices and attitudes among the refugees as well as the educators around the camp. For instance in the interviews (see appendixes ii and iii) I let them express their attitudes, opinions and feelings first without any interference. Then I would, for instance, want to know why some would say they preferred English to their mother tongues and yet also lament that their mother tongues were in danger of 'disappearing' as they learnt English. I tried to lead them to see through some of the socio-historical influences shaping their attitudes and tried to see if they were aware of the ideologies pressurising them. Just getting them to reflect on such issues really got some of them thinking about what their true positions were and whether it was possible to take an emancipatory stance or, as Canagarajah (1999) would recommend, try to get the best out of both languages. This was evidenced in cases where some students were ambivalent about their mother tongues' suitability for education because of their diminished utilitarian value outside the community. After an interview I noticed a marked re-evaluation of their stances.

Canagarajah (1999) talks of resisting linguistic imperialism and by using his work I was able to look out for how the refugees were appropriating language, especially the English language for their needs. I was able to look out for instances where there was a certain resistance to the policies and where, for instance, the refugees would appropriate Arabic and use their own variety of Arabic -the Juba Arabic for their own varied communication needs without letting it skew their views of their own languages.

4.2 Data Collection Methods

Since this study uses an ethnographic approach I adapted methods used in Canagarajah (1999:53) including the following:

- Field notes (deriving from participant and non-participant observation)
- Formal and informal interviews with students, teachers and other parties involved in education
- Textual analysis of written products (students' notes, essays, assignments; teachers' records, lesson plans)

I documented these in my notebook as well as doing audio and video recording. I review each method below.

4.2.0 Field Notes

I had in my purse a notebook and pen all the time and made field notes day by day as I observed the goings on in the camp that might have a bearing on language issues. My role as participant observer was, as mentioned above, my teaching role. I, therefore, had access to linguistic interactions in classes and discreetly noted down anything of importance I might observe, lest I forgot. In the evenings I would write them out and write my own remarks in the form of *commentaries*

(typed in bold italics in my typed out notes, for ease of recognition). I completed two 80-page journalists' notebooks of raw, handwritten field notes and one 48-page school exercise book that I used mainly in classroom observations. I have labelled the field notes F1 to F37 (Field notes page 1 to Field notes page 37) in the typed-out notes.

In addition to recording the field notes I also kept a **diary** of the day-to-day events of the research period. Here, I noted the various goings on that could have significance to my study, as well as recording my observations in the comments. Creese 2003 recommends this: 'It is only through studying the micro context for the minutia of interactions as participants actually voice them that we can understand how local discourses are influenced by and influence societal-level educational discourses (Creese 2003: 63). I have numbered the diary pages D1 up to D42 for simple identification. Here, I recorded my thoughts of how I thought the study was progressing and the themes that appeared to be emerging. I revised these as I went along. For instance, on Monday 13th October 2003 I made the following comments on page 11 of my diary:

Today I started my first Teachers' Upgrade Class. We did a bit of idioms for lesson starter then we had a debate 'Corporal punishment should be abolished in Schools'.

Commentary: Excellent participation but they surprised me by being bold about: 'If you do not cane them they will speak Dinka instead of speaking Swahili or English'. This was expressed by the first 'proposer' of the debate, and reiterated by the 'secretary'. I have to discuss it with them tomorrow. Does

it mean the practice of caning pupils because of speaking their own language still goes on in this day and age? Indeed, I was the only one shocked at that proposal- it appears a common practice among my student teachers! D11

My role as participant observer enabled me teach this class and listen to their debate .The views they expressed reveal what they believe to be the correct way to ensure students speak English and therefore improve in their academic endeavours. At a deeper level the lack of shock at the proposal reveals even more about attitudes to English and Dinka. There is something to be learnt from the general acceptance that children should be caned to prevent them speaking Dinka. I noted these down and analyse them in the later chapters in the thesis {chapters 5 and 8}. For instance, I ask questions about the historical beginnings of these practices and why it should be necessary to employ such means and endure such pain to achieve proficiency in English.

As a participant observer I felt accepted because I was able to intermingle closely with the refugees in different settings. Many staff members stayed out of the camp from 6:00pm for security reasons. I however attended church meetings every Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings and on Sunday mornings. This helped me get acceptance within a week of arriving at the camp.

Maintaining an outsider perspective was not hard because of my multiple roles in the camp. As an observer in the secondary schools I could afford to detach myself and observe classes as any other visitor would. Apparently, I did not distract

students as some could be seen doing the ‘wrong’ work during other lessons without fear that would tell on them.

4.2.1 Interviews

A good source of my data came from a variety of interviews I conducted- individual, group interviews and focus group discussions. I intensively interviewed the ten students chosen for life histories, following them up into their communities (with permission). The interviews lasted from twenty-minute sessions to an entire afternoon. In total each student was interviewed for between two hours and five hours, as well as being observed in different settings such as in class, at the market, or even in church. I took notes in these interviews as well as recording some on a micro-disc recorder and a few on videos. I also interviewed different people representing different interests in the camp to get the wider picture. Here I included whichever responsible person was available and willing to give me an interview, for example some religious leaders in the camp, who had a close knowledge of how the camp runs. In total the students interviewed formally were 16 and the teachers 10. There were also many informal interviews conducted impromptu whenever an attractive circumstance availed itself.

I tried to make the interviews informal so as to relax the respondents. I had some questions in mind but did not prepare a formal questionnaire. I asked questions as the interviews developed making sure all what I had in mind was covered by the end of the interview sessions. If there were any pending questions I followed them up in later interviews. Principally the question in my mind was ‘How has language been used in your education from the beginning of your schooling up to now and

what do you think about it?' I posed this general question to the respondents and let them talk until they stopped. However, if they said too little I would keep on prompting them along what they were saying in order to urge them on.

The interviews were meant to be informal but some took on a bit of formality as the refugees were invited to one of the Windle Trust offices and I had to use a microphone for the mini disk recorder. They soon relaxed and talked about their experiences and attitudes. I chose this approach because of what Creese (2003) warns about ethnographers not forming predefined categories but letting them emerge as interviews proceeded.

To avoid causing any difficulty in communication due to language I asked some translators to stand by. They were not hard to find, as many refugees are multilingual. There was a lady that could speak eight languages easily and she translated at the medical clinics when needed. However, I did not use any translators as the refugees all chose to speak either in English or Swahili, languages I am well versed in. However, I noticed that some of the weaker students were hampered by English and in one case a teacher had to help rephrase the question so the student could say more than the one-word answers she was giving. This help from the teacher presented a bit of a challenge, as confidentiality would have breached. I remember she was telling me that she had no problem with English and everything was fine. The teacher, on the contrary knew that she had problems in class and urged her to 'speak the truth', adding to my dismay: 'She is the only one that can help you'. Of course I could not really help her much and that was a major problem as I state in 4.7.0 below.

The only other instance where translation was used occasionally was in the case of Fabian. He speaks French, Swahili and Lingala (a Congolese language). Our discussion involved a lot of code switching between English and Swahili but occasionally an interpreter would help him find a suitable equivalent for a French word in English. This was however only when he seemed stuck for words. I myself also occasionally asked for interpretation when a unique word was used in Kakuma English that others in Kakuma seemed to know but with which I was not familiar.

I conducted interviews all through the period of my three-month stay at Kakuma. Towards the end of the research, during the last week I asked five students to come to the Windle Trust offices for more structured interviews. These were to help me clarify some of the findings I had collected and to test some of the assumptions I had drawn.

The groups used for Focus group discussions were mainly whole class discussions with my KAELP or Teachers' Upgrade students, discussions with community elders, as well as teachers in staff rooms. I carried out a total of five formal focus groups plus numerous informal ones. The focus groups gave me an idea of some of the varying attitudes. As Gillham (2000) remarks:

This is one source of information, particularly useful for getting an early orientation on your research topic-asking simple open questions and then noting the range and kind of responses you get. Issues of conflict or disagreement may alert you to hidden complexities.... The group dynamic's potential for conflict is, in a sense, one of its strengths in that it

may bring out tensions and reveal groupings not apparent in an individual interview or the routine process of everyday' Gillham (2000: 78).

For instance, in one staff room when we were extolling the virtues of knowing many languages and I was expressing admiration for one of the teachers' knowledge of so many languages he had learnt in the camp, another teacher budged into the discussion with another view stressing that it is only English that can help one:

Teacher 1 (T1): I speak Arabic, English, and Swahili

Question (Qn): What about your mother tongue

T2: Acoli, he speaks Acoli

T3: I can speak Amharic ...

T4: What will Amharic help you? I only speak a language [English], which can help. Without money you will leave Kakuma very fast.

The interviews were a major source of my ethnographic data. I recorded them quickly in my notebook as they proceeded. However, I paid attention to the interviewees and avoided focusing on my notes as the interviewees must be made to feel valued and important (see Hammersley 1979, 1984e). It was easier to conduct the interviews that were audio recorded as the recording instrument took care of all the information and I only noted down what was really significant or what could not be captured on the audio equipment. The video recorded interviews were the easiest and most focused, as the video equipment was able to capture even facial expressions and other cues that can be just as important as what is being said.

4.2.2 Textual analysis of written products

Another rich source of data for finding out more about refugees' experiences with, and attitude towards language was written products (students' notes, essays, assignments; teachers' records, lesson plans). I looked out for students' interests by examining how they carried out their tasks, the accuracy of their written work and any other hints about language use and attitude. I also gave them written tasks and asked them to write them out in the language of their choice. The choice has a bearing on use and attitude. The work I looked at was both from the students I was teaching in the KAELP and Teachers' Upgrade classes, as well as the classes I observed as 'inspector' and observer. I had good access to teacher's records and lesson plans being their assessor. I have numbered the student essays I collected as E1 to E80 for systematic reference.

I also had the opportunity to look at documents I was given by the various agencies concerned with refugee education. I collected tracts and documents from the Windle Trust, JRS, IRC, LWF/DWS, as well as the UNHCR itself. These documents give a good background to the life in the camp, statistics, and insights into policy and practice issues. For example an extract from one of the form two students' essays says:

'Apart from present language used there should be other language introduce to enable individual have a choice of choosing, by this it will not be compulsory but optional as he choose.'

We can at once see a student struggling with English and, perhaps, desirous of there being a wider choice in languages offered to refugee learners.

Document study is an important data collection tool in ethnography (Hammersley 1984e). In the case of policy statements and pronouncements concerning language use in education the documents were particularly helpful. Going through the Kenya government's documents tracing language policy in education helped me understand better how the refugee system came to be in place. Going through UN documents also enabled me understand their rationale as to why it is easier for them to simply adopt the education of the host country than bothering to set up alternative, perhaps more suitable ones.

I used written texts more as a source of background information than as texts to be analysed. As I mention in 5.1.4 one of the first data collection tools was essays. I asked students to write an essay on the topic 'how language has been used in my education from nursery school up to now and what I think about it'. The purpose of collecting these essays was to give me an overview of the attitudes and competencies of the learners. I also wanted to gauge their preference for languages as I asked them to write in the language of their choice. I also used some of the essays from students' work, for instance, on describing a person. These essays are constantly referred to in the discussion as they are numbered E1 to E80.

The documents I examined were basically to give me information on life in Kakuma and how agencies work to help refugees. I used most of this information in chapter one.

4.3 Sampling

I used both random and purposive sampling to select my respondents. There are three secondary schools in Kakuma refugee camp. From these I randomly chose one, Kakuma Refugee Secondary School to concentrate my school observations on, but also visited the other two for triangulation purposes. I chose form two students (the equivalent to UK year 9) since they are more settled in school than form ones, and are not yet under pressure of exams unlike the more senior classes.

The nature of this study is such that I had to have a small enough sample in order to be manageable and to get into some depth of their experiences. For this reason, I chose a sample of ten students for life histories, necessitating closer observation to provide for a detailed descriptive and content analysis. I purposively sampled five more successful and five less-successful students to observe and talk to, to get their life histories, experiences and strategies (See Early, 1992). Richards (2003) clarifies that the 'life history' requires more sources and corroborating of views than a mere 'life story'. As Goodson (1992:6) states:

The life story is 'the story we tell about our life'; the 'life history' is a collaborative venture, reviewing a wider range of evidence. The life storyteller and another (or others) collaborate in developing this wider

account by interviews and discussions and by scrutiny of texts and contexts.

From these cases I used snowball sampling to obtain more interviewees, as some were required for corroborating the information. Thus, I interviewed their teachers, community elders, aid workers, and those involved in their education. I especially interviewed five officials from the LWF in formal interviews and many informal ones around the camp and at meal times in the mess.

The lack of uniformity across students' country of origin in the sample is not problematic. Indeed, variety in experience is welcome, since it 'increases the potential range of perspectives to be yielded by a small learner sample' (Ushioda 2001:98). I thus varied the sample to include learners from at least six countries including Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Congo and Uganda. I mainly used Form Two students but also included others as the data dictated.

4.4 Procedure for data elicitation

I carried out this study in two main phases:

Phase 1

On the night of my arrival at Kakuma refugee camp I was immediately assigned my teaching duties. This turned out to be advantageous as it gave me quick access to staff and students. I was able to discuss informally with teachers in the staff room during tea break issues that were important to me. In fact during this break time I enlisted the help of a teacher in Kakuma Refugee Secondary School to give out a writing task to students with the heading 'How language has been used in

my education from nursery school until now, and my attitude to it'. The aim of this was to elucidate their biographical data and previous learning experiences. The intention was not only to draw out samples for life histories but also to help in the purposive sampling to select those who seemed to be more successful in communication and those less successful. They were to do it in the language of their choice. It was also in this staff room that I noticed the same teacher, a Dinka talking in Arabic and decided to gauge his attitude to Arabic. He surprised me by informing me that he liked the language and longed for opportunities to speak it. This was a situation I decided to investigate and made it a point to ask all my Sudanese interviewees what they felt about Arabic. Thus, from this observation and informal chat I started thinking about the theme of how it was possible to hate a people and still appreciate their language.

I also started my classroom observations to help choose subjects for the study and also for purposes of seeing the general attitude among students. In consultation with teachers and by examining documents and records, five more successful and five less successful (in communication in English) students were chosen for the life histories. These were as follows:

AA, Som, M- Abdullah Ahmed, Somali, Male

ABA, Sud, F -Achol Bol Ayar, Sudanese, Female

BF, Con, M- Fabian Bienvenue, Congolese, Male

DT, Eth, M- Demese Gabre, Ethiopian, Male

FE, Sud F- Fani Eliza- Sudanese, Female

FM, Rw, F- Florence Mazimpaka, Rwandese, Female

JY, Som, F-Jama Yussuf, Somali, Female

MDM, SB, M- Mahmoud Dahir Mugana, Somali Bantu, Male

NB, Sud, M- Nyol Bol, Sudanese, Male

TA, Sud, F- Terry Adawo, Sudanese, Female

In addition to these 10 students I also interviewed other students and teachers, the full list of which is on page xii. I tried to follow-up these more closely even into their homes for those who could allow us. I remember I spent a whole afternoon with Fani Eliza (pseudonym) as she had a great deal of experiences to share. I managed to video- record Jama at her home and found out about the special language and mathematics classes she conducts to help children in her community to progress in their education.

On a Saturday afternoon I interviewed in the Congolese community with the focus being on Fabian. It also took me the whole afternoon as I also interviewed Charles Hamid and Erick though they were not part of the select 10. They gave me very important information on French and Swahili, for instance, how it felt to go to form two when one was already in form six in their country because of language issues.

One problem I encountered with the choice of 10 main students is that the information I received did not necessarily correspond to the choice of respondents. In my selection of candidates I tried to represent diverse nationalities, giving more weight to Sudanese, as they are the majority in the camp. However, I found that the Congolese appeared more open to discussion and I formed a good rapport with

them. This was probably because I interacted more with the Congolese community as I attended church in their community four times a week.

Nevertheless some of the Sudanese I interviewed in the office especially Fani and Achol spoke very confidently and gave me plenty of information. I also found that the decision to select five 'more able' and five 'less able' students did not seem to make a difference. Some students recommended to me as being less able by their teachers gave me very impressive interviews. The freedom I gave them to speaking a language of their choice must have contributed to it. Two Somali Bantu students that both chose to speak in English gave me very interesting and informative interviews.

Phase 2

Having identified the ten students I carried out mainly open-ended and semi-structured interviews to elicit the learners' experiences with language in education and their perceptions of aspects of language in their education. I aimed to draw these out without asking them directly but letting them discuss what aspects were important for them. I began by introducing the study and myself and engaging in a brief chitchat to relax them. As Erikson (1990) says researchers need to put themselves in situations that afford opportunities to let people talk and share their experiences in depth. I reassured them that the interviews were not for examination or record purposes and that their personal identities would not be made known in any report. I also observed learners in their environments throughout my period in the camp, as this gave a broader picture of their attitudes and strategies. To aid my observations I used audio recording and to a lesser

extent, where practical and permitted, video recording. I depended a great deal on observation notes to generate observational comments to derive my data from.

4.5 Data analysis and Interpretation

Richards (2003: 268) rightly observes that data analysis is ‘neither a distinct stage nor a discrete process’ but is something that happens in one form or another all through the research. This is precisely what happened in this study though I had intended to set aside a time specifically for ‘data analyses’ according to my original time-plan. However, I also had advice that I should try to sort my data each evening so as not to end up with too much at the end of my fieldwork. I thus typed out a bit each evening and reflected upon trends that were emerging each day. I started thinking about colour coding my considerations so as to relate similar ideas. I discussed some of these trends with colleagues and included them in my further interviews so as to confirm or dismiss the ideas. For instance I had to dismiss the idea that all francophone refugees considered French their language. Whereas some did, some felt more attached to their mother tongue. Thus I decided to ask each francophone interviewee what they felt about French. I did find that the majority seemed to favour it but not to demand for it to be used in education in the camp. Many felt that they should just continue with English in spite of the difficulties they were experiencing. I also learnt from a child that not all refugees from francophone countries could speak French. I confirmed with an adult that apparently it is an elitist language just like English in many Anglophone countries.

As I reflected upon such questions and discussed with others, certain themes started emerging. For instance the theme 'English is must to us' emerged from the category of attitudes to English that I colour coded pink.

At the end of my data collection stay at Kakuma I transcribed the information I had collected from interviews, field notes and diary observations. I also watched the videos and transcribed the words, making note of what could be of significance but was unspoken. I did further colour coding whereby highlighters of different colours were used to represent each theme that emerged as I categorised the data..

When I came across a new theme I used a different colour until I reached saturation where no new themes seemed to be emerging. I colour coded these under the following main broad themes:

- Primacy of the English language and how it affects other subjects and education in general (colour coded pink) as well as attitudes towards English
- Attitudes to other languages in their education (orange)
- Difficulties with language in education (red)
- Strategies to improve one's language and the support given (individual, blue; institutional, dark blue)
- 'Quality' of language-'better English' 'funny English' etc. (yellow)
- Motivation and purposes for studying languages (green)

I then proceeded to collect ideas coded in similar colours together and sought to explain them. I conflated the emergent themes into broad themes that I then used

to refine the research questions of the study. The quotes extracted from the students' interviews and writings are unabridged thus appear non-standard. I chose to leave them unedited because when analysing them the question of Native Speaker standards and whether they are, or should be, adhered to arises. I want to know if there is cause for the students to be allowed to develop their own variety 'Kakuma English' (Kachru, 1997), so long as they can communicate with other English speakers, or whether the deviations should be eradicated. I want to know what their attitude to the errors are or indeed if they have any attitude towards them. I want to know what the influences are that lead to these non-standard deviations and the strategies they use to 'polish up' their English, if at all.

In appendix 1 I show an example of how I colour coded the transcriptions. Even though here I have used the computer to highlight various colours, in the actual work I did it manually using highlighter pens.

I did try to use a few computer programs but these had limitations of where they could be used. Being that I lived far from my university I could not work late hours on the university computers. I did try to purchase a qualitative data analysis package with a friend of mine from another university, also living in London. When he went to purchase it he found a novel version had been developed that promised to be a 'must have' as it seemed to render the previous versions/ models close to obsolescence. He went ahead and purchased the very expensive new model but found he needed to pay a consultant to teach him how to use it. As he waited for the consultant to gather enough quorum for a seminar I realised time was too precious to wait and, indeed, by the time he got his consultant I was

through with my seemingly tedious colour coding! I also felt I had a much better grip on my data, having spent plenty of time going through it word-by-word and line-by-line. As I worked on the coding I was able to think about the categories and refine them as I went along. In fact, by the time I was half way through the data I more or else had all my categories sorted out and just concentrated on separating out the apparently odd cases for further scrutiny.

Whereas computers would possibly make the work easier to those in a position to use them, I would agree with Richards (2003) that manual handling of data can appear antiquated in this age of Hi technology, but as Wolcott (2001) points out it has its advantages. It does help one to 'visualise processes partly hidden by technology. I encourage students engaging in fieldwork exercises to do the same thing, manually manipulating actual bits rather than electronic bytes to get a physical feel for what they are trying to accomplish' (Wolcott 2001:43).

4.6 Ethics

I did try to bear in mind ethical practices in my collection of data and indeed in the whole process. I sought permission from each respondent and broadly informed him or her of what the research was about. I tried to refocus their attention on language issues though these occasionally seemed linked to personal aspects of people's life stories, such as rapes and witnessing and participating in horrendous war activities. I told them each that my interest was really in language and constantly reminded them to avoid telling me any thing too personal, especially those they felt they did not want to talk about. Still, when compiling

data as I searched for emergent themes, I found myself having to omit parts of information that were too private, and concentrating on the language issues.

In spite of these, some students still thought they ought to tell me all their experiences, thinking I was in a position to help them leave the camp. I always corrected this, as I did not want to raise any false hopes. I also promised them anonymity and to change their names in the write up, which I have done.

4. 7 Challenges in the Research

Here I look into the challenges in the research, possible corrupting of data and safeguards put in place.

4.7.0 Interview Familiarity / Great Expectations

I discovered that my interviewees were very used to being questioned. This is something I had not anticipated. Instead I had thought it might be hard to get respondents for my interviews. Contrary to this, refugees often undergo interviews to deal with issues of resettlement and to assess eligibility for scholarships and access other sorts of help. In fact, some have had so many interviews without apparent success that they have become resigned to these ‘procedures’. Nevertheless, they thought to give it one more try to show their sufferings, hoping for success. The difficult part, was allowing them to know who I was and the purpose of the interviews. Yet, if truth were told, it was still the case that a few students seemed to think that I was able to help them more than I actually was. Even one teacher, perceiving that a student was not giving the ‘whole truth’ urged,

‘you have to tell the truth. She is the only one who can help you’. (Wiloyo Odet, Congolese,, Male Teacher (WO, Cong, MT))³.

I countered this by re-emphasising that I was merely a student and not in much of a situation to offer much assistance, though when the work is done, it will, hopefully help highlight their plight to those in a position to help. I also was careful to always return them to the focus, which was on ‘language experiences’ rather than their traumatic experiences in life generally. This poses as great challenge to the researcher to be able to balance out things delicately. Some times to understand the full range of experiences makes it necessary for the interviewee to relate more than the linguistic experiences. In my case it was needful as I also wanted to understand power relations and influences of linguistic imperialism as an exercise of political power. It is then up to the researcher to know how to sieve out the unnecessary extra.

4.7.1 ‘Truth’

The data needed for the life histories were given in the form of narration. This method raises a terminological challenge (Richards, 2003). There was a danger here that students might not give the truthful answer, since they might have wanted to tell me what they thought I would like to hear. For instance, a student might want to report that he/she speaks English in school because he/she expects me, as an English teacher to be happy with that. They might also lie for various personal reasons. It is not uncommon for refugees to make up stories so as to

³ The first set of letters show the initials of the student, the next the nationality and the last the gender. If it is a teacher, the last letter is T. See abbreviations for full list of interviewees.

gather more sympathy. Some may face a moral dilemma as they want to forget about their experiences in the war. Thus they would like to phase out that aspect of their lives. Narrating their education experiences may leave gaps in time that they might feel the need to 'fill up'.

Sikes (2000) discusses 'truth and lies' and points out that faulty memory, subjective perception, partial or erroneous knowledge, a desire to give interviewers what they think they want, or even a 'personal myth', an attempt to make sense of and explain our part in the past are likely to influence truth as is the case with outright lying, defined as 'a conscious and deliberate intention to deceive'. (Sikes, 2000: 258; Peneff 1990, Samuel and Thompson, 1990). These possibilities can

Contribute to simplistic stereotyping of researchers along the lines of the soft... lefty qualitivist and the hard, unscrupulous, reactionary quantivist. Such polarisation is unhelpful since, whether they take a qualitative, quantitative or mixed method approach, it seems probable that researchers per se are equally likely to be honest, dishonest, gullible, naïve or mistaken, both in the conduct and in the analysis and presentation of their research. It is in the person, rather than the paradigm, that the potential for corruption or frailty lays. This is as true for the informants or respondents participating in the research as it is for the researchers who are doing it'. (Sikes, 2000: 258).

As a researcher using data derived from informants' narration in life histories, I do acknowledge that the extent to which truth reflects reality is a philosophical question, which cannot be answered simply or easily (Sikes, *op cit*). However, life histories provide very vital historical background necessary for our

understanding the present views and attitudes. As I want to examine macro-societal influences too it is necessary to get a deeper understanding of the interviewee and the way to do it is by a careful analysis of their life histories.

4.8 Validity and Reliability

Canagarajah 2006: 156) observes that critical ethnography is in great part a response to questions of how valid traditional ethnography can be, as is the query with many fields in social sciences. As is the case with other critical approaches which support the post-enlightenment philosophical tradition, Critical ethnography considers knowledge as 'non-foundational, socially constructed, and implicated in power differences' (Canagarajah 2006: 156). Here it is different in emphasis from traditional ethnography that is keener in reporting accurately the viewpoint of the interviewees and presenting their culture from their own viewpoint without the researcher's scrutiny. Furthermore, he admits, in critical ethnography no pretence is made to the effect that the interests of the researchers, sponsors of projects and even the dominant power groups do not influence the descriptions. Hence he acknowledges that these viewpoints lead to queries of validity and reliability in critical ethnography. He then offers the sensible response as being to frankly acknowledge them and be aware of them throughout the research process so as to minimise their effect (Canagarajah, 2006:156-157).

Consequently, I have tried all through the stages of this research to ensure validity and reliability. First, to clarify the expressions, we note that terms have had a battle of definitions. Richards (2003:284) sums up the issues by observing:

Unfortunately, as with so much else in QI [qualitative inquiry], the waters are muddied by the confluence of positivist concepts and naturalistic concerns. Between outright rejection of such terms as products of an inappropriate paradigm (for example, Lincoln and Guba 1985; Wolcott 1990) and their appropriation in order to claim evidential parity with the natural sciences (for example, Hammersley 1990; Morse 1999) lies a range of fecund alternatives generating connections that reach into all aspects of QI.

To aid my understanding of the terms I quote Kirk and Miller's summary, as highlighted in Richards (2003:284):

A thermometer that shows the same reading of 82 degrees each time it is plunged into boiling water gives a reliable measurement. A second thermometer might give readings over a series of measurements that vary from around 100 degrees. The second thermometer would be unreliable but relatively valid, whereas the first would be invalid but perfectly reliable. (Kirk and Miller, 1986:19).

Thus validity has to do with making sure we present things as they are. We might ask ourselves

how can we be sure that our representations correspond to the phenomena we have encountered. Or more practically, what we have missed in our analysis/interpretation. These are matters of *interpretation*...Reliability is a matter of being able to depend on getting the same reading if we follow

the same procedures...how can we be sure that our representations of the data are consistent. How tough are our procedures for collecting and categorising the data? These are fundamentally matters of *procedure* (Richards, 2003:285). ⁴

All in all, the three basic validity checks are shown in table 3.1 below:

Table 4.1 Three key validity checks

Member validation: Seek views of members on accuracy of data gathered, descriptions, or even interpretations

Constant comparisons: Keep comparing codings with other codings and classifications, looking for new relationships, properties, etc

Negative evidence: Seek out negative evidence/cases and assess their relevance to interpretations

Source: Richards 2003:287

I applied these principles to my study to ensure validity. I used my students in the Teachers' upgrade and KAELP to validate my observations. To achieve this I made up some statements I inferred from the data as debate questions and gauged their reactions and responses. These focus groups gave me a clearer picture of attitudes and strategies. I double-checked with the actual interviewees where I could get them, especially the 10 focus students, who were more readily available.

⁴ For more discussions on validity and reliability, especially the alternative formulations, see Richards, 2003

I then checked out with the officers running the camp and those responsible for education in the camp, to establish facts and opinions.

I also did constant comparisons with my coding to come up with viable themes that were not too overlapping. I used peer debriefing by giving an extract of my work to the CELTE Research Circle to compare my coding and analysis with that of graduate students and experts in the field. Their classifications were very close to what I already had. And I incorporated their observations and suggestions as well.

I sought out negative cases too and did not dismiss any opinion but instead used this in my analysis as a safeguard when drawing my conclusions. Finally, I tried to find out more information where the case was really different from the trend or the expected.

For reliability, also referred to as *dependability* and *confirmability* (Richards 2003:286) ‘this can be assessed in terms of the documentation of the research design, data, analysis, reflection and so on, so that the researcher’s decisions are open to others’. By detailed descriptions and by explaining my reflections and procedures in this research, I have made it open for others willing to find out if the study has made claims that go further than what the evidence indicates.

4.9 Summary

This chapter has been a description of the research process and an analysis emerging issues in the methodology. I started off by discussing what prompted my interest in this kind of study and the technicalities encountered in gaining access

to the camp. Then I rationalised Critical Ethnography and why I chose it as my preferred method. I compared it with ordinary ethnography emanating from anthropology and weighed its pros and cons. I then expounded the methods used to collect, sort out and code the data. These are quite similar to ethnography –field notes, observation and participant observation, interviews, textual analyses of learners’ written products and focus group discussions. However, there is a critical perspective to each process especially in the interpretation of the data collected.

I discussed the ethical issues raised, noting that life stories of refugees are sensitive and confidentiality must be assured, for instance by changing names. I then discussed the challenges posed in the research including interview familiarity of the learners, the elusiveness of ‘Truth’ and questions of validity and reliability. Indeed I noted that critical ethnography acknowledges constructing communities and cultures ‘as heterogeneous, conflictual, negotiated, and evolving, as distinct from unified, cohesive, fixed, and static (which characterizes [much] traditional ethnographic descriptions (Canagarajah 2006: 156-7). Hence care must be taken to ensure validity and reliability and acknowledge weaknesses.

In the next chapter I start synthesising the data and analysing the refugee learners’ experiences with language.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ENGLISH EXPERIENCE

In the previous chapter I discussed the methodology and methods used to collect and analyse the data. I found that the refugee language-in-education situation is riddled with a myriad of problems and the state of affairs is quite complicated. In fact, to try to comprehend all the diverse attitudes, ideologies, difficulties and responses, the ethnographic approach was preferred as it allows a comprehensive and eclectic approach. In this chapter I start discussing the findings from the data collected. I discuss the findings under various themes that emerged from the data I collected and coded. I decided to structure the findings chapters in the present way in order to make it easier to see emerging patterns. It is easier to quickly locate a theme and trace it through the chapters. For instance the general pattern in chapters six, seven and eight enable one to easily compare attitudes to the different languages. I gave more weight to English and allocate it a chapter on its own because everyone interviewed had something to say about English. I was also following in the already established order whereby English is given high status as the language of education and examination for most subjects. This being the case many themes emerge around English and each needed to be explored in some detail. Finally the data was plentiful and needed to be organised into some logical pattern, and choosing to arrange it by language was one of the ways one could do it. This was the way I preferred though others might have preferred to discuss themes in chapters rather than languages. I start with the power of English.

5.0 English, The Principal Language

I start off by discussing the primacy of English and how it affects other subjects, and analysing attitudes towards English. We see how English is perceived as all-

important for very survival but also encounter ambivalent views towards it. Under this broad theme I found a lot of viewpoints that expressed the primacy of English and that appeared to indicate that without it, one could not make progress in education, or in life, generally. I discuss both positive and negative attitudes to English. Because of its constant appearance in the data I decided to include English as a chapter on its own, though there is another chapter on attitudes to languages.

To recapitulate the position of English in the literature, we saw that English is indeed in a privileged position in the world. Kachru (1983, 1994) has demonstrated the spread of English all over the world. Graddol (2006) and Crystal (2003, 2006) describe how English has gained ground internationally and is widely acclaimed as the most suitable global lingua franca, adopted by all for international communication.

Nevertheless, Phillipson's theoretical framework, (1992, 1999) considers this situation of English as a case of linguistic imperialism. Phillipson is of the opinion that English should not be given undue emphasis at the expense of other languages. He considers this positioning of English as being a continuation of hegemony in the form of linguistic imperialism and that this leads to the murder of smaller languages that cannot compete against English on the tilted international arena.

I also looked at Cummins (2000) arguing for a reordering of linguistic experiences of immigrant children. He argues that bilingual children should be first taught in their mother tongues until they acquire sufficient proficiency to

understand central concepts then they could be introduced to instruction in the second language. This, in spite of their appearing to speak the second language fluently since surface fluency or BICS takes only one or two years to develop. On the other hand cognitively demanding academic language or CALP takes five to seven years to develop. This order not only helps them learn better generally but also helps them learn the second language faster.

With these in mind I now look at the experiences of the refugees in Kakuma with English and analyse where their influences overtly and covertly emanate from.

5.1.0 English is privileged

Right from the beginning of the study I was able to see that English was in a privileged position relative to other languages in the camp. To start with, the syllabus decrees that the students be educated in English in Kenya from Primary Class Four onwards and that they study English right from day one in kindergarten. However, in many multilingual urban areas and in many private (fee paying) schools they do start teaching English right from the start and many a parent prefers to send their children to these schools.

The refugees follow the Kenyan syllabus and so are obliged to learn English as a subject right from nursery school and to be instructed in English. A few refugees from Uganda and Southern Sudan have also been educated in English, so it is already favoured to start with. In an interview with officials at the UNHCR, I established that their policy is that refugee learners are educated according to the syllabus of the host country. I found this strange at first since one of the preferences of the UNHCR is to repatriate refugees should conditions improve in their countries of origin. Thus, I asked why they did not rather make provisions

for the various education systems to be followed, especially those that involve a different language of instruction, but was told:

‘That is the policy and we only follow it. Besides, we cannot give the refugees a better education than the Kenyans themselves’.

I wondered whether the refugees’ preferences were considered at all, bearing in mind my previous knowledge of refugee schools privately run in Nairobi where they tried to maintain their own countries’ syllabi, amid great difficulties. It is understandable that one of the points I make in this thesis is that the learner’s perspective be considered when offering them education. If they had been given a simple questionnaire to find out their preferences it would have made an immense difference. Besides, I also bear in mind the language experiences of Kenyan children themselves leave alone refugees that may be there only on a temporary stay!

Interestingly, many of the refugees did not seem to mind learning in English. In fact, they considered it a privilege, in spite of the difficulties encountered and incomplete mastery. This is mainly because many in the camp aspire to go for the option of resettlement in Anglophone western democracies. When asked to write an essay on his experiences with language in education, one student wrote:

The learning of these two languages [English and Swahili] is a good thing to the refugee community and it is of help to the international community since there should be mutual understanding among people because of

using these languages. These languages can let you fit in any society either in African or western countries. (E16).

Kenya does not actively pursue the third option of integration, thus, for many; the camp is but a transitory place en route to western democracies. It is no wonder, then that many strive to learn the language and go to great lengths to get the opportunity.

In the camp I found various overt and covert opinions that elevated English up on a pedestal high above the other languages. One wrote:

Nowaday English is the language being used in all over the worldwide, therefore I prefers English to be use due to that you can interact with any other person in one continent as well as the rest of the continents so far. (E26)

He goes further and adds that English is a 'language that was well developed since the 19th centuries and up to date'. He may not be overly accurate in dates but feels that since English has been around for so long that adds to its value.

Another Sudanese student has 'become aware that English is an international language and is emphasized as I share my ideas with the various groups' although he reckons he does not speak it fluently.

Another student I interviewed, that I could see was having great difficulties in her ability in English still felt that:

‘English is must to us...increase English and for them to teach us well for us to understand it well’ (TA, Sud, F).

In Kenya, competence in English is a marker of educational status, and it is assumed that every educated person in the world knows English very well. Those who cannot speak English, even if educated in some other language do not appear to make an impression. Indeed, it is assumed that those who speak English well are also the well educated and intelligent. This ideology is widespread to people of all classes as I experienced when I got a ride on a bicycle⁵ and the Turkana man expressed great admiration for a new private primary school in Kakuma town that was teaching in English right from nursery school:

The school has good education. When a child goes there for a short while he starts speaking English, unlike this government school of ours. (D30)

This attitude spills over into the refugee school system. Some refugees struggle against all odds to send their children to this private school that is expensive even by local Kenyan standards. One Sudanese student experienced immense distress when she first joined a Kenyan school outside the camp. She explained to me

⁵ Bicycle transport is common in Kakuma. The camp covers a long distance and one can pay around Ksh 10-30 to get a ride to various parts of the camp. The amount is decided by how the bicycle owner rates your ability to pay.

how she had had a difficult time fighting off jibes at her inability to speak this all-important international language, and that, at her age (around fourteen)!

They used to laugh at me because I did not know English...They wondered why I could not speak English and they could ask me what part of the world I come from. Because in Kenya even nursery school children could speak English better than what I did (FM, Sud, F)

5.1.2 Privilege and access

All subjects in the camp are taught and examined in English except for the specific languages French and Swahili that are taught as subjects (and these too are often translated into English for supposed ease of understanding, especially technical vocabulary). We thus see how knowledge of English provides great privilege and grants access to other subjects. It is a gatekeeper to economic well being as well as general success in life. Proper knowledge of English, can, therefore not be overemphasised. A student wrote in his essay that English was

A 'solvent' in both educational and personal interaction with other people world over'...English is doing the best in my education field of studies as it applies indirectly and directly in other subjects that I do learn in school (E13)

One even expressed it thus: 'I am now very fluency in speaking English language and I sometime wishes it to be my mother tongue and my international language' (E3).

On the other hand lack of knowledge of English disadvantages those who have to be taught and examined in English. A Sudanese refugee student that has mastered English had this to say:

‘...And a B+ in CRE. I have to admit that I did well in my CRE because of my English language. And I would like to advise people that, the other students that if you do not do well in English you will not be able to do well in other subjects. Since all subjects require us to use English and most subjects are...tested in English language.’ (FM, Sud, F)

‘I did not do well in Kiswahili because I think I took most of my time for English because Kiswahili is only one subject but English when I looked at my subjects each of them was in English’ (FM, Sud, F)

To gain access to secondary school one has to pass English and Maths. A refugee teacher told me of the experiences of the refugees, some of who were already advanced in education in their countries, but learning in a different language:

If you do not know language you cannot be taken to secondary schools. You must sit standard eight and get a certificate before you can be allowed to join secondary school. That is LWF and UNHCR policy. Or else you sit a qualifying test involving skills in maths and English’ (FA, Sud, F).

She further explained that, even this privilege is being phased out as the agency sponsoring these tests no longer has money. Thus, it becomes a problem, as many cannot afford it. The only other option is mastery of the language irrespective of previous education.

One Congolese teacher who had been in the university in his country studying medicine had to do manual work building gabions for GTZ until he learnt enough English to allow him teach science in secondary school.

Similarly, to get scholarships one has to be well versed with the English language. The Windle Trust prepares students for TOEFL, which is often used as the measure of competence in English. Many students with superb qualifications cannot access university education without demonstrating good TOEFL scores.

I can, therefore, safely conclude that English is a gatekeeper to education in the camp, hence to jobs and all that comes with education. This situation is prevalent in much of the wider world as well. David Graddol (2006) has expounded in much detail the supremacy of English in the world. With detailed statistics obtained from diverse sources, some academic, some media pronouncements, Graddol has shown how English is the number one global language and far outshines any would-be competitors. David Crystal (2003, 2006) also demonstrates how English is the global language and gives figures to prove his point. For instance, he points out that already 90% of scientific publishing is in English. The World Wide Web and Satellite communications continue to establish English even though other languages are used to a smaller extent. This English success is declared in an

exultant voice but there is a caution issued: to maintain this status English must be used for international communication and as a global lingua franca. However, there is a possibility that as more and more varieties of English develop they may become increasingly unintelligible. Already we have the desire to maintain an International [standard] English to try and preserve a generally understood language:

It [International English] especially means English words and phrases generally understood throughout the English-speaking world as opposed to localisms. The importance of non-native English language skills can be recognised behind the long-standing joke that the international language of science and technology is broken English. (Bell, 1999:6)

With such discourses then it is no wonder that many of the refugees appear to be crying out for more English. When examined critically it is almost impossible or undesirable to swim against the current especially when all the fish seem to be downstream. Not only does resisting English present a difficult uphill task but is apparently unnecessary. It is presented to the learner like the proverbial carrot and only those that dare would refuse to swallow the bait with the hook. Canagarajah (1999) demonstrates another increasingly common approach to similar situations. Instead of an outright rejection of English he recommends that one sift out what one needs and ignore the rest. His students at the Sri Lankan university were very good at resisting English dominance by appropriating the language for themselves. They selected what suited their needs and did not bother with what I would refer to as the 'excess baggage'. They sought to maintain the best of their

culture even if expressing it through English. That seems like a reasonable approach other than throwing out English per se when there are some very real benefits it promises. When such an approach is followed by different communities than we find that the more the countries appropriating English, the more compromised mutual intelligibility becomes. Yet, all said and done there are always the basic aspects that enable enough communication to take place. Nevertheless, the dread possibility of the Englishes becoming unintelligible is what make Crystal (2006) urge that each speaker of English maintain at least another language or variety so as to recognise the standard English while using their varieties in other contexts. Whether there is need to fear is still a moot matter. But with the careful examination of pidgins and creoles there might be a point worth noting.

5.1.3 English for life

English is needed if one is to make it both in the camp and in life generally. This leads to a craving for the language and students and parents go to great lengths, spending their scarce resources to ensure it is mastered. Parents spend meagre money to send their children to good schools out of the camp; especially those that emphasise English mastery from a very early age. Mohamed Mugiza, a Somali Bantu, tells of how he paid to a private school within the camp to learn English. Gabre, an Ethiopian expresses similar struggles, whereby he had to pay for his English language too. I also observed many advertisements for English language learning at a fee, along shops in the camp market streets. A student wrote 'I like studying English for it is the key to all elements in the school environment.' Many students also expressed such sentiments:

‘I want to learn English but not Kiswahili’ (MA, Sud, F)

‘...We can make it [Arabic] optional like a language and use either English or Kiswahili but I think English would still stand’ (D12)

Teachers find themselves embroiled in these controversies and use various strategies to work out a compromise suitable to themselves and the learners. Sometimes they use the painful approach to force students to master English, often with the blessing of students, sometimes without:

Now when I was in secondary school my English teacher was really taking hard time on me. I told her ‘Madam, for sure I do not want to know this thing and it is taking a lot of my time. I like taking Physics, I read Physics, I read Biology and Chemistry but and Maths, but I do not take time for English. When it comes I just get what I get. (AC, Sud, F)

Most of the time I am teaching in English instead of Kiswahili because I find that most of the time I have to translate into English and that lowers the standard of Kiswahili’ (JW, Ke, T)

All those difficulties is because you cannot get a job if you cannot speak English (JP, Rw, MT)

One student wrote of his early struggles with the English language while in a missionary school in Southern Sudan:

Our teachers who were well versed in English did also develop a sense that we could also know English as they did. They forced us to speak it despite the fact that we were not well prepared. We could try but our sentences never made sense. At times, we were grouped in several groups to debate among ourselves. To make it worse they laughed at us. Because we feared to be beaten we strained our throats to ensure some sensible sentences were constructed. We could not shy to be laughed at simply because of our shyness never triggered our mind. We continued practising every term the school opened.

As I grew up and went to standard five, I found out that my Arabic was gradually diminishing. I could speak good English now because it was something that we, as students, were accustomed to in the school environment. It was dreamt of and become the order of the day. We spoke it everywhere we happened to be. (AAA, Sud, M)

Now in the camp this same student now says English is his best friend and companion though it undermines his mother tongue (Dinka). He says it is

A language that makes many young people friends everywhere in the world. It produces doctors, scientists, pilots, teachers, engineers and many others. AAA, Sud, M)

Tollefson (1991) would have something to say about such an ideology that it is English that produces these professionals, but it is a view that is widely held. Many of these students do not know of industrial giants such as Japan, which did not have to use English, but that is another matter. Besides, as we have seen, to make progress in their immediate environment of the camp, it is mandatory to be well versed in English, whatever the yardstick.

It was rare to find opinions expressed about the value of language other than utilitarian and monetary. However, an Ethiopian teacher was among those few that expressed fears about the encroachment of English on other languages for other reasons: 'It is not good for them to only speak English because they forget their mother tongue.' (JM, Eth, MT)

5.1.4 Positive and negative attitudes

Most of the attitudes towards languages are utilitarian. The more 'useful' a language is, the more it tends to evoke positive responses, irrespective of what difficulties learning it may appear to cause. This is especially true with English. Though many of the refugee learners could hardly express themselves in English, when interviewed they often said they liked the language. They said it was a language that 'creates mutual understanding between nations', 'produces professionals', 'makes friends', 'draws attention', as well as one that 'has a sense of humour'. When students were asked to write an essay on 'How language has been used in my education from nursery school up to now' a student described English as a beautiful language that affects his senses when he speaks it:

When I speak it my feelings is always at the teasing senses of humour that can only tune my voice but also to the immediate person whom you are talking with. All in all English is so beauty when expressing oneself in terms of sound and in formats that draw the attention of people or any other client (E15).

Another student declared that he is ready to defend English should anyone try to remove it from the syllabus world over:

Even if it is decided that it could not be taught all over the world I bet I could defend it. (E9)

These positive attitudes were sometimes in conflict with their other feelings and even in the same breath there was a love-hate relationship expressed. Indeed, many consider English hard to learn:

Its phono-graphemic irregularity is often an immediate objection as far as reading and writing are concerned. (Half a million English words are not spelt the way they sound.) Some aspects of the language system, such as tense and number are more complicated than in certain other languages. (Crabbe 2006).

Yet some refugees find it worth their while to struggle with English and develop a positive attitude to it. Consider for example the Sudanese student who wrote:

English is my best friend. It is my best companion because it makes me bold when I speak it in public. Though it undermines my mother tongue we shall never fall apart. It is a language that can be taught and teachers should gather their strength to make sure it is spoken throughout at school. It can be embraced and loved. (E11)

In the data interpretation chapters (chapters 5 to 7) I discuss these ambivalent views in the light of current arguments that advocate for more English, versus those that aver that this is an unnecessary burden imposed upon the already burdened refugee learner (see Cummins 2000a). There are those who feel that dominance of English after this manner is unnecessarily burdensome and is calculated to give status to the language of the former colonisers and foster American imperialism (see Pennycook 1998). I look at the difficulties arising from this emphasis of English in education and the cost to the disadvantaged. I also look at the apparent advantages accruing from this knowledge and why so many seem to crave it.

Finally, I recommend reaching for the mid-point: one that would advocate for gaining the advantages of English for the refugees while escaping the disadvantages; for instance by ignoring insistence on notions like the elusive 'native speaker standard' and instead appropriating the language to fit their needs (Canagarajah 1999).

A student said, for instance:

English is an international worldwide communications means and Arabic is just local country means (AAA, Sud, M)

In essence this is not quite true because Arabic is also an international language spoken by a huge part of the world's population. However, many Sudanese students associate Arabic with the Sudanese government and do not imagine that it could be useful elsewhere.

5.2 Summary

In this chapter I have looked at the English language in particular. I examined the primacy of English and how it has come to occupy a leading position above other languages, as a result of historical factors such as colonialism. I also noted that language in education policies that give prominence to English help to cement this position of privilege.

I have looked at attitudes towards English. Many refugees interviewed expressed a great love for English, wishing they could speak it fluently. They overlooked the difficulties they encounter in learning it to express an admiration for the language. English is described as the one that gives access to many opportunities in life. It is a gatekeeper subject to success in School Leaving Examinations, as well as being necessary for good jobs and giving the opening for easier resettlement opportunities.

Notwithstanding, there were some mixed reactions towards English with some students fearing that English 'dominates their mother tongues' and that speaking it could lead to a state where they do not remember their mother tongue.

I complete by noting that a middle ground ought to be found whereby the refugees can reap the benefits of learning English without it leading to a loss of their mother tongues. If the language-in-education policy is structured in a sensitive way as advocated in Cummins (2000) whereby biliteracy is recommended, then the learning of English will be complementary to learning their other languages rather than to be seen as in competition. A lot has to do with developing positive attitudes to all languages and getting rid of ideologies surrounding English that have been and continue to be propagated about English.

In this ever-changing and pragmatic world new developments take place that affect policies and attitudes. Phillipson (2006) points out an alternative way of regarding English. He calls to a study of Hong Kong by Li 2002 that prefers to perceive English in a more pragmatic way:

from both the point of view of demand and supply ...to go beyond seeing English as an addictive, enfeebling imposition, analogous to opium, preferring the image of English as ginseng, costly, varied, somewhat bitter, but enabling (Phillipson 2006: 349)

The imagery of English as a drug first conjures in my mind images of the cause of the disease. Why would it be necessary for one to take opium or for that matter ginseng? That aside, in more affluent Hong Kong this attitude is an interesting summary of the differing outlooks towards English. It is close to summing up the ambivalent views expressed by the refugees in Kakuma. It covers well varying

views such as Spolsky (2004) who wonders why there is the entire furore about English and how it can be possible for a language that one embraces to be accused of dominating one! It also appears commonsense in regard to the tough market-run twenty first century, where if one considers something 'ginseng' and enabling they have to 'go for it' at all costs. Beneath the surface, though, there are ideologies that come close to blaming the victim. In situations such as deprived African schools (see Williams 1993, Wright 2001) and Kakuma Refugee Camp schools, the rule of demand and supply can hardly be allowed to rule the day. If it were left to do so, then there would be more of the 'bitter' aspect of the ginseng felt than the profitable aspects. A minority might benefit from the 'enabling' aspect of the 'English ginseng', but there are high dropout rates and wastage through repetition of classes. Situations where children fail to achieve due to language inhibitions manifest the 'costly' aspect.

Finally, Canagarajah (2006:196) points out how some more macro-societal factors affect language attitudes. The rapidly changing political and ideological spaces of the twenty-first century have had significant impacts on the perception of language in education. He notes that globalisation has nipped decolonisation in the bud, leaving stakeholders in language planning with a half-baked cake:

While non-Western communities were busy working on one project (decolonisation), the carpet has been pulled from under their feet by another project (globalisation). It is as if one historical process got subsumed by another before the first project was complete. There are significant differences in the project of both movements: decolonisation

entails resisting English in favour of building an autonomous nation-state; globalisation has made the borders of the nation-state porous and reinstated the importance of the English language for all communities, through multinationals, market forces, pop-culture, cyberspace and digital technology... Canagarajah (2006:196)

A way of breaking through these forces is to embark on 'glocalisation' whereby local forces work to reduce the negative impact of globalisation. This is but a further development of his urging appropriation (see Canagarajah 1999).

In the next chapter I look at the role of other languages in refugee education and examine the various attitudes towards each language.

CHAPTER 6: EXPERIENCING OTHER LANGUAGES

In this chapter I look at languages other than English. These include Swahili, Arabic, French and various mother tongues including Dinka, Nuer, Amharic, Somali, Kizigua and more than 300 languages from the Equatorial region of Sudan, among others. The issues raised in this chapter concern what status these languages are accorded in the education of refugees and what attitudes the refugees have towards them. We see that the refugees come from diverse countries bringing with them a variety of languages to the camp. Does the camp education system give these languages an equal chance to flourish in the rich linguistic ecology of the camp? Are they all nurtured or are they left to survive on their own or are they indeed stifled by others due to policy? We saw in the literature (Cummins 2000a) the recommendation that refugee learners be given a chance to become properly literate in their L1 before being expected to engage in English medium instruction. I ask whether Phillipson's (1992, 1999) linguisticism applies to these other languages as well as to English. I also examine whether Kachru's (1983, 1994) conjectures about the evolution of World Englishes can be applied to other languages.

I have classified the languages in the chapter along the following sub headings, where applicable: appreciation of the language, dislike of the language, value of the language, difficulties with the language and the language in education. This, however, is not a straightjacket to fit the data in but merely an attempt at an orderly way of looking at the issues from the data. I start off with (Ki) Swahili.

6.0 Attitudes towards Swahili

In this section I discuss the various attitudes to Kiswahili. Being the other compulsory language in the syllabus Kiswahili appears to face more hostility than English as it seems to cause similar stress, without the accompanying promise of brighter prospects. It also has those who appreciate it and consider it valuable. In this subdivision I analyse Swahili under the following themes:

- Appreciation of Swahili
- Dislike for Swahili
- Difficulties with Swahili
- Value of Swahili
- Swahili in education

6.0.1 Appreciation of Swahili

Swahili is a Bantu language with some vocabulary from other languages, especially Arabic. It has a few who appreciate it and admire it, especially among the Somali Bantu group. This is because Swahili is very much a part of their lives and is spoken a lot in their homes. Their origin is via Tanzania, where the National Language is Swahili, which is spoken by all and sundry. Therefore, to learn it in school gives them an advantage. I noted in my diary the following from an interview with a Somali Bantu student who likes:

Swahili ‘sana sana’ (very much). It is in ‘use wherever you go’ in East Africa it is used everywhere. You will be understood wherever you go.
(HM, SB, M).

The Congolese community also expressed some appreciation of Swahili albeit with reservations. There was the feeling that their variety- the Kingwana dialect is not much appreciated, as it is not the standard variety taught in Kenyan schools. Standard Swahili taught in schools is based on the Zanzibar variety, Kiunguja, with much development by scholars and linguists. This difficulty was expressed both by some students and teachers alike. However, I note that these two communities must find Swahili easy to learn as their Bantu background means there is a lot of a similarity between their languages and Swahili.

Apart from these two communities we also find some Sudanese that appreciate Swahili, in spite of their mother tongues being from different linguistic families. This is especially those who have studied in Kenyan schools outside the camp, or those that started their education in Kenya. In a staff room Focus group discussion I found a young Sudanese teacher that really appreciated Swahili and in fact was teaching it though he was on his way to Canada for WUSC sponsored Microbiology studies:

Mike likes Kiswahili and is very fluent, perhaps because he went to Kenyan schools. He wishes Arabic was introduced here in the camp, as he really likes it. (FG6)

Yet even among those Sudanese without undue advantage there are those that appreciate Swahili:

Like when I came here I was not even across of a language called Kiswahili but I get it here in Kakuma. And I have interest in that language also and I like to be educated. I like all the languages that are going to be used in the nation. So I feel like to know Kiswahili but I am still not knowing it. Even English I am not knowing it-still I am a learner, maybe I can say that I will be knowing but I am still (ABA, Sud, F)

Swahili is also liked for its apparent ease in comparison with English. There is a close correspondence between its orthography and phonology so it is not very hard to read aloud. A Sudanese finds it easy to talk:

So, me, I like to talk Kiswahili but mostly I do not like to talk English language because I know how to talk Kiswahili but I do not know how to talk English. So that's why I like Kiswahili. (TA, Sud, F)

Similarly, those who have discovered its usefulness have also grown to appreciate it, as they appreciate other languages:

In fact, me, I like Kiswahili, I like English...and even my career I want to become a reporter. That is what I have been all planning all along, but with the Kiswahili it is very tough for me to use it. But at least when I am in the school I can just try to work as the examiners gave it out. But if I got somebody who can teach me well about Kiswahili then I shall be very interesting in it because my all interest is also in languages, that's all I am. I want to be a reporter in life. (AAA, Sud, F)

6.0.2 Value of Swahili

Swahili is a commonly used lingua franca, especially among the minority communities who do not speak Arabic. Even for those for whom Swahili is not commonly spoken back home, they find it a useful tool for getting around, trading, and communicating with some of the Kenyan Aid workers. A Rwandese teacher noted that Swahili is now commonly used in their community in the camp though at home in Rwanda this is not the case:

Swahili, well Swahili some of our people here speak Swahili but back in Rwanda not everyone speaks Swahili...(JP, Rw, MT)

The language of choice to communicate among the different nationalities in the camp class is mainly Kiswahili:

English is a commonly used language and Kiswahili has no any problem. Swahili is a Kenyan language but if we have to live here in Kenya we have to learn it, even if seen as imposing but we see two other languages, so Kiswahili is not strange- while here we must have it...My problem was in English actually, even now I have problem in English, not because I was not taught but because I have attitude that English was very bad. I did not even know what bad was from my primary school. I concentrated on subjects like CRE, Agriculture, like science, and Kiswahili. I like Kiswahili most than English. (AC, Sud, F)

Swahili is fast gaining status as the accepted lingua franca. It is commonly code-mixed with English and students generally refer to and address their teachers as '*mwalimu*' –teacher in Swahili:

'*Mwalimu*, why do not we try balancing until the end?' (D68)

'What about cow dung, *mwalimu*? (D71).

Among the younger refugees, especially those born in the camp and who have begun their education in the camp, Swahili is the general lingua franca. While observing one of my Teachers' Upgrade students in class, I observed multilingual nursery children from Somali, Congolese and even Sudanese communities playing with their toys in class for 45 minutes and the language they were playing in was Swahili:

'Yako ndio hii' (Here is yours [toy aeroplane])

'Yako ndio hii' (Here is yours)

'Haiendi' (It does not go) (D66)

Together with English Swahili is generally regarded as a 'key' language. When well learnt it gives one a chance to progress in education and can give a good grade to boost overall performance in the School Leaving Examinations:

My ability to learn and understand English and Kiswahili language led to my academic performance in exam. I passed my KCPE. I was promoted to

secondary school. ... I appreciated my teachers who had taught me these key languages' (E15).

Swahili is also highly regarded because of its position as the national language in Kenya. Some Southern Sudanese regard themselves as belonging more with the East African states than with the northern ones. Therefore they feel the desire to be integrated in the East African nations and one of the ways is by adopting this language that is spoken all over East Africa:

To me learning of these two languages is a good thing to the refugee community since there should be mutual understanding among people because of using these languages. These languages can make you fit in any society either in African or western countries. To myself I support Kiswahili to be taught to us in the camp, even though we did not perform to an expectation in national examinations but as time goes, then we shall know it. We Southern Sudanese, we are very much eager to know Kiswahili; we want to be equal with our brothers and sisters who are in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. We are looking forward for Kiswahili to be nationalise in Southern Sudan. (E10)

Another student regards Swahili a 'solvent' language together with English:

Now I am able to communicate and understand someone in these two languages as they act as solvent in both educational and personal interaction with people world over (E9)

That said and done, there are still plenty of ill feelings towards Swahili, especially from those who have to struggle to learn it from scratch. I look at these negative attitudes next.

6.0.3 Dislike for Swahili

It was at a dinner discussion in the staff mess that I first found out from one of the nurses what attitude some of the students had towards Swahili. She told me of how an invigilator had expressed concern that some students did not take their final examinations seriously. They would ask him to show them where to write their name on the answer sheet and then proceed to snooze off for the rest of the exam time. On pursuing this issue I interviewed some Swahili teachers and they had not so different a report:

Sometimes you remain without students. The rest just take off. They tell you: ‘after all where will Kiswahili take me?’ You know they have two main goals in their life: either going back to their countries or going for resettlement or for studies abroad maybe America, Australia or Canada. So they think that Kiswahili is not going to help them achieve those goals. So they always walk off half the class. (MA, Ke, FT)

But we usually try- we keep on encouraging them. Though sometimes you go to class-like what used to happen in Kiswahili- a student just marches out. Then when you ask what is the problem

‘Kiswahili ma’

That is in their Arabic [maa fi] meaning ‘there is no Kiswahili’. (MA, Ke, FT)

So generally speaking we can say that many of the refugee learners interviewed showed a dislike for Swahili, especially the Sudanese. Especially at the onset of education in the camp there was great hostility towards Swahili but this seems to be changing as familiarity with the language grows. I examine this point further in the discussion chapter (chapter 8).

6.0.4 Difficulties with Swahili

A lot of the difficulties in Kiswahili appear to be due to negative attitudes. These attitudes stem from the fact that Kiswahili is a compulsory subject so every student must learn it and be examined in it. Yet, as a student remarked:

In the camp Kiswahili is a problematic issue to student...they said in any case, Swahili will not secure the future. (DE, Sud, MT)

When students want to join secondary schools, especially if they come from another country, Swahili sometimes causes great distress and a huge inconvenience. There was a test one could do in maths and English to enable them be placed in a secondary school class

...But now the agency sponsoring these tests has declared that it has no more money so you have to go back to standard eight (or even six so as to

learn Swahili) and then sit the KCPE before you can qualify for education.

(FE, quoted in D15)

Now it is understandable that they might feel helpless and thus resentment seeps in as they suffer frustrations trying to pass a new language that has implications for their KCSE results. In fact when the students were told to write an essay in a language of their choice only two out of forty eight wrote in Swahili. And of the two one still wrote:

Lugha ngumu kuliko zote ni Kiswahili (the most difficult language is Swahili) (E1)

This Congolese student complains about apparent inconsistency in the language itself. Whereas it is easy to learn how to speak it, writing it is another story altogether. This also puzzled a teacher:

...I have never interviewed them about Arabic, but I have seen that some of them are speaking Kiswahili! ...They talk Kiswahili, but when it comes to the examination. I do not know what happens. They can just go there and write the name on the examination booklet and walk out. The majority neither are not interested. (DE, Sud, MT)

When I reached class six that's when I started seeing a lot of difficulties with that language...This Kiswahili in Kenya has many differences, because one can speak *Sheng* [slang] and you speak *Sheng* thinking that

they are speaking standard Swahili but you are speaking the Swahili that is not correct...It behoves us to all to learn Swahili so that we can understand each other. Like every resident of Tanzania knows that language and we should be like those citizens. (E1)

The Congolese student laments that the Swahili learnt at secondary school is hard because:

Many of us looked down upon it when we were in primary school. And it is not only Swahili that will get us to our aims. There are other languages like French and Arabic that have already spread all over the world like English. I recommend that Arabic and French be taught so that all can understand. I am speaking on behalf of the refugees, for example many of the Sudanese do not know Swahili and why cannot they learn Arabic? So that when they go back they may benefit from that language since Arabic is their national language. Those who come from the Great Lakes region like Rwanda, Congo and Burundi; it is imperative that they learn French since it is their national language. (E1 translated from Swahili).

The extract below also shows some of the difficulties involved in Swahili in education:

We have problem of sciences. We do not learn well in sciences. Also we have got a problem in English. We are not doing enough practice in this English and this is worrying us.

Qn: And Kiswahili?

Ans: Kiswahili, ehe, Kiswahili, I do not want to talk about it. Kiswahili is tough. We do not understand the subject and even now we are doing exam and we do not put it in our mind. Anyway we are dealing with other subjects

Qn: When you say 'we' does it mean that everyone has the same attitude or just you?

Ans: Ah sorry, that is, I can say, is me. I only mean that the rest, they are talking the same thing. Yeah that is. They are talking the same thing. Some have really improved but some... we started education in upper classes here. For those who have started in lower class they have no problem. We have problems of letters to pronounce it is difficult.

Qn: Do you know Arabic?

Yes a little

Do not they say that Swahili and Arabic are similar?

Yeah they are saying they are similar because some words are taken from Arabic, that's all but we cannot understand what they mean. (JA, Sud, M)

From this extract we can see that Swahili was considered an unnecessary burden not even worth talking about by the student. It appears the students accepted their situation as helpless victims of a policy they were powerless to do anything about. It is a painful experience for anyone working hard under very problematic circumstances to try and pass examinations to know that there is a subject they can do nothing about. Having given up trying to understand it they just wrote it off as a looming dark mark in their School Leaving Certificates, as this is a compulsory subject. This situation obviously is bound to engender bitterness about a system imposed on the learners that if they had the power to change they would.

In our main theoretical framework (Cummins 2000a Transformative Pedagogy) I refer to influences that bear upon the student to hamper their success and satisfaction at school and in life. The case against Swahili in this extract is a non-starter according to Cummins (2000a) Transformative Pedagogy whereby the first step must be providing comprehensible input. The student's 'we do not understand the subject' leads to resistant attitudes among the learners whereby they do not even want to talk about the subject. The power relations exhibited here are of a coercive type against the hapless learners unable to help themselves to actively participate in their learning and enhance their self-identities.

Students who leave the camp to go to Kenyan schools have to face up to the fact that much of the communication is in Swahili. Initially they may be confounded and appear lost but they often pick up and probably that is why even those Sudanese who go to Kenyan schools excel in Swahili. A student who studied outside the camp was dazed at first but later on came to understand that the language was used by many of the Kenyan students:

Then in 1995 I was forced by my parents, somebody decided to sponsor me to Kapenguria. There were many Kenyans there and the common language there was Kiswahili. English was there but Kiswahili was commonly spoken outside the classes. When you were with your friends outside playing you will just be like a deaf person. You will remain dumb like that until break is over. You'll just be seeing people playing football but if asked how you cannot explain. You will just gesture. So a language like Kiswahili was very hard. (NB, Sud, M)

To understand the general issues with Swahili in the camp here is a teacher's summary:

Also there is this problem of lack of practice. Like I teach Kiswahili, but when they are out of class, even when you are in the class they do not see the need of why they should practise. Most of the time I am teaching in English instead of Kiswahili because I find that most of the time I have to translate into English, and that one lowers the standard of Kiswahili. And also the Sudanese they see like there is no need for them to learn Kiswahili because they see like it is a language, which was imposed on them, and they have nothing to do with it because they are soon going back home and they do not see why they will use it. The same applies to Ethiopians and Somalis. But the Congolese... you know Kiswahili has got about eighteen dialects and now this dialect; the dialect, which these Congolese speak, is Kiungwana. Now these Congolese they like using words from this Kiungwana and it causes them problems. And even if you try to correct that it is difficult because it is deeply rooted in them. (JW, Ke, MT)

This teacher raises some very pertinent questions. The first is the interaction between English and Swahili. She feels that English impinges upon Swahili, as she has to translate Swahili concepts to English for the students. She is of the opinion that more exposure the language leads to better learning irrespective of understanding. This opinion seems to be influenced by the 'maximum exposure' fallacy (Phillipson 1999). There are those that would argue that it is more

important of the students to understand what is being taught to them and translation is a commonly applied strategy to ensure meaning. Williams (2007) emphasizes the point that meaning has to be given its place for reading to be effective. This applies to learning in general as we have pointed out about the comprehensible input proposed in the Transformative pedagogy framework (Cummins 2000a). Why the teacher thinks it is not worth it to ensure students understand what she is teaching even if it entails natural strategies like translation is still curious.

Next, the teacher raises the issue of varieties of language. We have already pointed out the trend of accepting 'Englishes'. The same can be said about Swahili, as indeed, about all other languages. In fact, the question here is that Kiunguja (the Zanzibar dialect of Swahili) was arbitrarily chosen as the standard and does not make the others 'bad' Swahili. Nonetheless language attitudes are never easily explained away. The point is that having been chosen as the standard it is the variety taught in schools and used in media and official communication. Thus, those that speak and especially, write another variety are disadvantaged. There often suffer from low self-esteem created by feelings emanating from their variety being considered a 'low value variety'. This lack of pride in their language or dialect demonstrates a lack of critical language awareness. Cummins' (2000) Transformative Pedagogy theoretical framework sets out an ideal situation whereby students take a crucial look at these attitudes to their varieties and begin taking pride in them. This leads to a better identity negotiation and helps curb the coercive power relations.

6.0.5 Swahili in Education

Swahili is one of the compulsory subjects so the teachers and students have to strive to ensure it is well taught. There are many constraints, though. Unlike English, which has various charities in the camp supporting its teaching and learning, Swahili has to struggle for meagre resources with other subjects. This leads to it being disadvantaged and earns it great disfavour as much is expected from it but little is input into it. There are very few Swahili teachers and in fact some of the schools I visited have virtually no Swahili teachers and have to rely on the goodwill of volunteers. One of the problems is lack of resources such as books as a student remarked:

I began speaking both English and Kiswahili with my classmates and teachers. During my upper class I became used more to English than Kiswahili. This is because most of the storybooks are written in English
(E14)

The teaching of Swahili has always posed a great challenge to the refugee community, especially the Sudanese. They appear to like the Kenyan system of education and adapt it in much of the Southern part of Sudan. However, they often appropriate the syllabus and replace Swahili with some other language, usually, Arabic. This is what they did in the refugee camps in Ethiopia before coming to Kenya and it is also done in their own country. It is basically because of lack of teachers competent in Swahili. In many of the schools I visited Swahili teachers were very difficult to obtain. In some of the schools they employed their former students who had had the privilege of studying outside the camp in the Kenyan

schools (E28). In Kakuma Refugee secondary school I found Swahili being taught by Kenyan teachers. In another school a volunteer from the refugee community who understood the language was teaching Swahili. They did not have even one Swahili teacher in the whole school of over 1000 pupils. Yet Swahili is a compulsory subject! No wonder teachers sometimes resort to archaic ways of ensuring the language is learnt!

We were introduced to Kiswahili first and with me since I was a child I did not have any problem with Kiswahili. I ...the teacher would beat me so thoroughly that I learnt it fast. (AC, Sud, F)

When students want to join secondary schools, especially if they are from another country, Swahili sometimes causes great distress and a huge inconvenience. There was a test one could do in Maths and English to enable them to be placed in a secondary school class but that was stopped because of lack of finances to support it.

So we see that Swahili was initially received with less than a friendly welcome. However, with the passage of time these negative approaches seem to be tempered down. From informal interviews I got the impression that cases where students would only write their names on the Swahili exam paper and fall asleep seem to be reducing. This could be because more of the pupils that started education in Kenya are now in the upper schools and influence the newcomers positively.

In conclusion, I note that things are beginning to change for the better as more and more Sudanese begin to master the language, especially those who started their education in the camp. It would appear much of the negative attitude was related to difficulties understanding the language and as these are overcome Swahili gains more favour. I return to these issues in chapter eight. Next I explore Arabic.

6.1 Attitudes towards Arabic

Arabic is a major language in Sudan. It is also spoken in Somalia, and being a language of the Islamic religion, it has major implications for the education in the camp. Arabic is loved by some, disliked by a few and generally found useful for varying reasons. The students appear willing to learn Arabic though it is not offered in their schools in the camp. This is odd since Arabic is offered as an optional language in the Kenyan school curriculum. A teacher passed the buck to the educational authorities:

If they say [tell us to offer it] we [will] offer it, if we get a different response then that is it, otherwise they are ready to learn it (JW, Ken, MT).

It would appear though, that the buck does not stop there- at the camp education authorities' table. Another teacher seemed to imply that it is up to Arab speaking countries that are better off to ensure their language is taught in schools, as happens with English.

I shall now examine Arabic under the analogous subheadings we did for Swahili.

6.1.0 Appreciation of Arabic

Canagarajah (2006) urges that Critical Ethnographers acknowledge their biases and any positions of power, as a way of ensuring validity in the study. I must, therefore, admit that at the commencement of my fieldwork I thought I might find a lot of negative attitudes toward Arabic from the Sudanese, considering the war with the mainly Arab North of Sudan. I must also have been a casualty of the discourses in the media that portray the war in Sudan in very harsh terms. Thus I thought the apparent negative discourses between the Sudanese North and South would reflect in their experiences with the Arabic language.

Contrary to my expectations many of the Sudanese seemed not to mind Arabic at all! My first surprise was during an interview I conducted in Kakuma Refugee Secondary School staff room. One of the Dinka teachers, himself an ex student in the camp expressed great appreciation of Arabic. I noted this in my diary commentary for 23/10/2003:

I must admit I was rather surprised by his nostalgia for Arabic- how he wished he could speak it more often! This is contrary to many Sudanese who appear to loathe it. Have to find out what part of Sudan he hails from. (D24-25)

Bearing this in mind I set out to confirm the general feeling towards Arabic by closer questioning of all my Sudanese interviewees. In a Focus Group discussion I was told there was nothing wrong with Arabic as a language. I was told it was the Arabs they were fighting and not the language:

Anyone who tells you we are fighting Arabic does not know what he is talking about. It is the people we are fighting not the language. (FG2)

Whether we are able to separate a language from its speakers is a moot point. The debate about whether a language can be 'innocent' in spite of many apparent crimes committed to preserve it rages on (Phillipson 1999 versus Spolsky 2004). Kachru's (1983) arguments about appropriating English now and not paying attention to the ideologies that are perpetuating it comes to mind here. This is quite different from Pennycook (1998), who insists on highlighting the historical roots and discourses surrounding a language choice.

So contrary to my assumptions that they would hate the language, the Southern Sudanese have appropriated it as their lingua franca to communicate amongst their over 300 languages and dialects. I was even informed that in their SPLM meetings they used Arabic in their discussions. In fact, one remarked 'you have to know the language of the enemy'. Some evidence for this follows:

In fact, me I do not know the whole biography about that. But only what I can say what created the conflict was only a matter of religious but not the language, since SPLA which are our people, rebels now are still using Arabic as the communications means so I cannot see that Arabic is having any obstacle that can block it from being used world wide (AAA, Sud, F).

Also with Arabic, Kiswahili has no difficulty. The only difference is the alphabet- Arabic and English; otherwise they are similar (Rev Tom- FG4).

I can say I like Arabic but I do not know any single word of Arabic. Since we were displaced from our homeland by Arabs no way of knowing their language. And we would still be knowing Arabic if our country was having independence. But now we are no longer in our country as you know we are now in East Africa. That Arabic is a means of communication in our home country but not here (ABA, Sud, F).

6.1.1 Dislike for Arabic

Arabic is a controversial language with complex love-hate dynamics, when it comes to the Sudanese. Many of the Sudanese refugees are from the South. The education there is fashioned according to the Kenyan one. However, a few refugees have been affected by the attempt to Arabise and Islamise Sudan. Thus we find some that are happy with the system and some that are not:

An interview with a Sudanese teacher in Secondary School Two gave me a different view of Arabic from the North of Sudan:

Qn: What about Arabic. What is the general mood about Arabic?

Ans: I have never thought of the problem about Arabic. I have never interviewed them [students] about Arabic, but I have seen that some of them are speaking Kiswahili! The Dinkas are interested to learn Arabic but the rest are not. That is the problem.

Qn: I want to know more about that because you are a Sudanese yourself. I thought since Arabic was one of the reasons why they went to war was because of the imposition of Arabic. But I have interviewed a few students and they seem to be saying 'give us Arabic, give us Arabic'. What can you comment on that?

Ans: Yeah for me who have just come... who came from the Northern Sudan we who have suffered even the custody because of that it was a very big demonstration of the students, which we engineered... Who were instigating the students against this Arabisation in the schools in Southern Sudan.

The people, the students who are inside there they are not impressed with Arabic they are only interested to learn English or other African languages this is what I know from them. But when I came here, on this side, I found that it is the contrast. People need again like to learn Arabic, while people inside are opposed. (DA, Sud, MT)

The ambivalence surrounding Arabic can be better understood when we consider the political background to education from where the Sudanese came. It would appear that Arabic has been given such status in their country that the Sudanese feel obliged to know it in order to progress. Yet, beneath this desire to learn it there is deep-seated resentment that manifests itself on closer, critical questioning. Arabisation is a whole policy but some in the Southern part read a hidden agenda behind the government's initiative. In accordance with UNESCO's 1953 proposition that local languages be used in education whenever possible, some nations interpreted these to exhibit coercive power differentials in respect of some of their citizens. In South Africa this led to sub-standard Bantu Education that has left a bitter taste for mother tongue education in many South Africans (See Bloemmaet 2006, Makoni and Kamwangamalu 2006, Alexander 2000)). The same applies to Arabic versus Berber languages in Morocco (Moha, 2005) and Swahili versus local languages in Tanzania Makoni and Kamwangamalu (2006). The intention is not always overtly negative and in some cases, as in the

Tanzanian case was overridden by their socialist *Ujamaa* ideology espousing one language as ideal for unity in one nation. The fight was declared against 'foreign' languages meaning former European colonialists' languages. This in turn led to a situation whereby regional languages assumed the same power differential in regard to local languages. Whether to accept the languages or not depended on how well the policy was sold to the citizens as being for their good against ills such as neo-colonialism, capitalism or tribalism. With the dawn of post enlightenment populations have become more critical and have begun questioning what they had previously been made to believe was the order of things. With Cummins' Transformative Pedagogy I am able to analyse some of these attitudes and try to achieve critical language awareness, a requirement for a critical education.

In one of the essays a student covertly hinted at this negative attitude from his choice of words in an essay. In this essay he was merely asked to describe the education in his country of origin and compare it to the Kenyan system offered in the camp. He used diction that implied all was not well:

After independence the government of Sudan took over the education from the missionaries. With an intention to introduce its own curriculum and make the **takeover** complete, missionaries were **expelled** in the country without question in 1962. That later gave the government free decision to **dominate** the country with its introduction of Arabic pattern of learning. That did not mean equal opportunities to all citizens and the South was left out with very few teachers which was, lastly, the reason that how

educational disparity was perpetuated by the government. (E24) (My emphasis).

The choice of words in this extract shows some of the ill feeling towards Arabisation. To add onto this, another student also chooses the word 'abuse' to describe the strategy used by some Sudanese to learn in Arabic in schools:

The town schools and bush schools offered all subjects in Arabics. Many pupils/students in the South and Nuba mountains renamed themselves in Muslim names, for example Ali Mammul Deng, Ibrahim Aguer, Abzala Chol...They named themselves that way not because they wanted to be Muslims but only for them to get chance in high schools as well as in tertiary schools. It was a **corruption**, you see, and also an **abuse of children right of education**. (E72)

Another essay also implies hostility towards the Arabic language because of its claim to superiority. If one could speak and write Arabic they were considered by the northerners superior to those that could not, even though they could write other languages: 'a sizable number of northern Sudanese viewed those that can write and speak fluent Arabic as the civilised and educated ones'. (E73)

6.1.2 Difficulties with Arabic

Arabic has a different alphabet and script from the Roman one commonly used. It also has diglossia with the High varieties being used mostly in religious matters

and for official purposes. A Somali Bantu student that knows Arabic still finds it complicated:

Arabic is a bit hard especially for younger children, but it should be taught.

(HM SB, M) (Cited in D5)

An extract from an interview with a teacher shows some of the difficulties with Arabic. We find that High Arabic is not easily accessible and the Sudanese have reverted to their own variety commonly referred to as Juba Arabic, which Holms (1994) classifies as a pidgin:

Truly, speaking this Arabic, which they use, is not standard Arabic; it is just a colloquial Arabic just spoken in a section and it cannot be used all over Sudan. So if they want it is better for them to learn classic Arabic than dwelling on this colloquial Arabic.

Qn: And do you offer it here or do you think it should be offered?

Ans: Yeah, they say that it should, they want it to be offered...yeah like the Sudanese they are fighting an Arab and they say that you cannot defeat your enemy without knowing his language/what his or her language, so they say that they so much would like it to be offered.

Qn: I thought there was a feeling that Arabic was imposed on them and so they did not want it. Can you comment more about that; I would like to know more about this?

Ans: From my look of things they say that they are fighting the Arabs but when you look at it they say that they do not like the Arab but if you ask them they say they want to know what the Arab is planning to do and that is why they insist that they should learn this colloquial Arabic. It is just the colloquial Arabic. I think it is a different thing, why they... for survival I think. I do not think there is anything more important than that.

Qn: Are you going to offer it to them? What are the plans for offering to them if that is what they are asking for?

Ans: It depends with the NGO, which is in charge. For us we are just told what to do. If they say that we offer it, then we can do it. It depends on the donors and also the relationship between Arabs and our donors...if they say we offer it, if we get a different response then it is it, otherwise they are ready to learn it. (BOO, Sud, MT).

The issues raised here concerning varieties of Arabic are similar to what I discussed in relation to Englishes and Swahilis. We also have a situation of an education system controlled by macro-societal factors. The teacher's resignation 'We are just told what to do' does not augur well for an education that aims to be transformative. That's why in this thesis I am reiterating that more ethnographic research be done to contribute to the data pool to build up viable theories to make education more satisfying and successful. If the teacher is in such a powerless position what about the refugee learner?

6.1.3 Value of Arabic

Arabic is considered an alternative lingua franca to Swahili. It is used especially by the Sudanese to communicate across their many languages and dialects. However, many of the young generation do not know it properly and a good amount of students interviewed asked for Arabic to be added to the syllabus. A Congolese student was of this opinion:

I speak on behalf of the refugees, for example the Sudanese. They do not know Swahili why cannot they learn Arabic So that when they return they may benefit themselves with that language because Arabic is the national language there in Sudan? (E2 translated from Swahili)

The many Muslims in the camp value Arabic. It is regarded as useful for inculcating values: (D74). It is also respected in Sudan where it is a national language. Arabic is also asked for, for what would appear a very bizarre reason:

They want it to be offered...yeah, like the Sudanese, they are fighting an Arab and they say that you cannot defeat your enemy without knowing his language, ...they want to know what the Arab is planning to do and that is why they insist that they should learn this colloquial Arabic...for survival I think. (JW, Ken, MT)

As I was in nursery school I was using my national language (Arabic) because the teachers are from different communities and they managed it to use Arabic. (E17)

Arabic is OK. Arabic is so important because to understand Arabic, I will not be able to understand myself if I do not know Arabic. Arabians I can speak with them.

Qn: Why cannot they speak your language, why do you have to speak theirs?

Ans: Their language is already a national language and it is taught and many people know it. Some people in the South do not know Arabic, but those who have gone to town they have been taught Arabic. If they want to know any language that is OK but for me I want to know Arabic.

Qn: When you go back to Sudan do you expect things to remain the same?

Ans: No when we go back to Sudan things will be different. We will go back with the education we have learnt here in Kenya (JA, Sud, M)

In view of that, we find the value of Arabic being linked to its utility both as a national language and as the language of the enemy, whereby it is essential for very survival. This attitude is well applied in real life when we saw recently in the news that the USA was looking for speakers of languages considered their enemies', in order to gain intelligence for security reasons. Even Cummins (2000) mentions the point in the argument against Schlesinger's call for monolingualism. Cummins points out that the trend is to know as many languages as possible for communication with both friend and foe.

6.1.4 Arabic in Education

Arabic is not offered as a subject in the camp schools, ostensibly, due to a lack of resources. I interviewed some educationists critically; reminding them that what would be required to offer it as a subject was minimal- in fact, little more than teachers. There would not be a lack of students as I had established from my participant observation:

If Arabic was introduced I would do it, even though it is not my mother tongue (DA, Sud, F)

In the immediate case of Kakuma we find the result to be that Arabic seems to be losing out to English among the former speakers as pressure is put on the learners to know English. A student who was fluent in Arabic in his early years of school pointed out this trend:

As I grew up I found out that my Arabic was gradually diminishing. I could speak good English now because it was something that we, as students were accustomed to in the school environment. (E5)

There were plenty of refugee teachers and others who could be made use of with token payments but it seems the policy makers are removed from the situation on the ground:

Qn: Why do not you offer it here? Are you planning to introduce it?

We have no power; we have no authority. Now like the protocol –the process is too long.

Qn: Do you make suggestions?

We do. But we realise the system of education-the curriculum-with English and Kiswahili they are compulsory. So those ones we offer. And even if they learn that Arabic, especially for the purpose of exams, it will not take them far.

As a consequence, we find little Standard or High Arabic in the camp but instead the refugees have formed their own easy version of Juba Arabic that meets their communication needs but does not have any place in their education.

Truly speaking this Arabic, which they use, is not standard Arabic, it is just a colloquial Arabic just spoken in a section and it cannot be used all over Sudan. So if they want it is better for them to learn classical Arabic than dwelling on this colloquial Arabic. (JW, Ke, MT),

This is the opinion of a Kenyan teacher and it is typical of those in powerful positions to frown upon non-standard varieties irrespective of popularity. As English cleaves into Englishes (Kachru 1994) we also have different Arabics (as some students already refer to the languages) emerging. Will a standard form of Arabic survive or will the different diglossic and regional varieties disintegrate into many related but unintelligible 'Arabics'? This is Crystal's (2006) fear for English and what actually happened to Latin. Can education help alter the situation? These are questions for the future. For now, this ethnographic study states things as they are at the camp and leaves the guesswork for the future to another day. It's worth discussion nonetheless as extrapolation from data is often the real insight and I pick it up in chapter eight.

Thus, in conclusion I find that it is not easy to draw conclusions about Arabic. It is loved and disliked at the same time. It is found useful for positive and negative reasons. It is not given a chance in the education system in the camp though in the Kenyan education system it is an optional examinable subject. Next I examine the position of French:

6.2 Attitudes towards French

There is not too much said about French in the camp. Nevertheless, since it is an important language I will examine it. This is because there are a good number of refugees, mainly from the Great Lakes Region, particularly, Rwanda, Burundi and the Congo that speak it.

6.2.0 Appreciation of French

French is loved by some and considered an important international language as well as a language that might offer fun. A Congolese teacher said he liked French so much such that ‘even if I am sick and you speak to me in French I will just recover immediately’. (FG6). It is also considered ‘fun’:

I hope if French is introduced in the syllabus it would have been important for the students. It might have fun (E15).

Even the students that have come from the Great Lakes region like Burundi, Rwanda and Congo-it is imperative for them to learn French because French is the national language in those countries (E2).

These views expressed by a student may seem a little controversial as French may not quite be the ‘national language’ but nevertheless he makes his point. Of course, this would irritate the likes of the teacher from Rwanda who expressly denied French being ‘his’ language, though he is from Rwanda:

When you talk about my language French is not my language! My language is Kinyarwanda! I would like to be taught Kinyarwanda. (JP, Rwa, MT)

Here we find an example of the danger posed when well meaning people and or organisations offer 'help' to those who do not prioritise it. It is crucial that before one embarks on a project they seek out the needs of the recipients of the aid or else much money is spent in projects not considered a priority by the recipients. This calls to mind the points made in Street (2000) about carrying out ethnographic research first to find out the actual needs before spending thousands in vain.

Quite a few of students interviewed were of the opinion that French should be added to the syllabus especially as a fair choice for francophone refugees:

I am also appealing to the educational department to introduce French to the system, so that we can also know another international language in addition to English and Kiswahili. (E10)

And a Congolese student that had to go back to Form Two though he was in sixth form in his country moans:

Truly the problem is language [English] - to hear is not quick. One meets words, which they do not hear, which you do not understand. You have to go to a corner and ask someone again to explain properly. But, in spite of

that I feel pain because, French- here, we do not learn French, and French...to us if it was French someone would be explaining better...but now that it is another language (laughs) but now here one asks what shall I do? What shall I do? (BF, Con, M)

Another Congolese student struggling with English, in spite of, being quite proficient in French, nevertheless, pushes on:

I would not like any language removed, except I must make more effort to learn English. The languages I like most are that English and French, but I see like I will continue learning English and will not put myself too much into French the language I knew. (EB, Con, M)

6.2.1 Difficulties with French

There is only one French teacher in the one secondary school in Kakuma that offers the language as a subject. He said at first he had problems of negative attitude from francophone learners. They do not understand the Kenyan education system properly and think that Kenyans do not understand French!

Firstly, I had a problem with the Congolese. They could not imagine that I had come to teach them French. When I enter the class, they found it hard.

Qn: They thought you were not good enough?

They were not imagining that a Kenyan could just speak French. You know here in the camp we are enclosed. Kakuma and down country, you know, is a far distance. And most of these refugees just stay here. They do not know what is taking place down country- the education system there.

The schools that are doing French. They could not imagine that there are schools down country, which take French. (AW, Ke, MT)

Among the few learners in the one secondary school, some have complained that French is difficult to understand. A Sudanese girl from a secondary school where French is not offered kept on asking that it be removed from the syllabus. On further questioning as to why it should bother her yet she is not even required to study it she was adamant that her friends that studied it, found it hard. She quipped:

It is hard to know. I know, I hear from people (TA, Sud, F).

This little incident illustrates how attitudes sometimes are formed without any proper experiences. It is a pity, but a fact, that rumour is a major influence on language attitudes. Thus critical ethnographers do not take face value comments but dig deeper by critical questioning to verify what is said.

6.2.2 Value of French

French is actually considered 'meaning less' in the camp as its benefits are not overtly clear to people who are concerned with surviving in the here and now:

Well, let me take the case of French. We ran from our countries, we are in Kenya where we are faced with a lot of difficulties. And all those difficulties is because you cannot get a job if you cannot speak English. You can talk to people and say you were educated in French but what does that mean? People do not speak French! And maybe it may be interesting

for somebody who wants to go back to their countries, or who has a specific plan to go to those countries where they speak in French (JP Rw, MT)

French is commonly used as a lingua franca among the Congolese and other Great Lakes Region refugees. In the various Congolese churches French was commonly used for singing and worship. The sermons were mostly in French with translation into English and/or Swahili. During a visit to one of the Congolese Christian Assemblies on Sunday, 19/10/2003 I made this note in my diary:

The children sang a special song in French. There was a mixture of French, English and Swahili. They used two different translators. (D20)

I remember on that particular day what happened was a Ugandan family had recently got converted to the Faith. They started attending the services every Sunday. They understood only their mother tongue (Karamojong') and neither Swahili nor French. So the pastor, who knew all three, [English, Swahili and French] had to cater for this family while also taking care of some of the Congolese (especially the female folk) who did not know English or Swahili. (D21).

The next day was a public holiday in Kenya they invited me to their homes in the Congolese community. Since I visited them together with another Kenyan our communication was mainly in three languages-English, French and Swahili. English and Swahili were mostly used where the three lots of us were involved in

a conversation but on their own Swahili dominated. They occasionally used French to discuss something they did not want us to understand especially concerning the food they were preparing us. One of the ladies spoke in the Congolese dialect of Swahili- Kingwana, but most of the others spoke the generally used Kenyan variety. I noticed that the children spoke in Swahili with their parents and a mixture of English with French and Swahili amongst themselves. When I queried about this I was told they could not all speak in French, as some of their parents did not know French. This was contrary to the general assumption in the camp that all Congolese were fluent French speakers.

This can also be substantiated by what one of the Rwandese teachers told me concerning French:

Qn: Well some people were saying we should teach them their language [French] because they might be going back home

Ans: When you talk about my language French is not my language! My language is Kinyarwanda! I would like to be taught Kinyarwanda. When you go to my community 90% do not speak that French you are talking about. It is very expensive in our country. We studied French paying. (JP, Rw, MT)

The value of French in the camp is diminished as it cannot help one get a job or proceed for further studies unless under special intervention. There is a lot of wastage and some refugees that were educated in French have to learn English from scratch in order to make use of their education. During the interviews I gathered the view that even the Francophone qualifications did not count for much

in the English based Kenyan system. Francophone students had very slim chances of improving their lot in the camp. Jean Pierre, a Rwandese teacher remarked:

...I studied primary, secondary, university in French and eh but all that education I got it was meaningless when I entered Kenya because I cannot move around here in Kenya saying now I have come to teach French, especially ...English is needed. Me I prefer English.

Qn: But English is needed here in the camp but this is a temporary place. Do not you think it will help you elsewhere?

Ans: Well, outside where, because me I live I live now. Tomorrow, tomorrow we economists we know tomorrow I am dead

Qn: But will not you want to go back to Rwanda or anything?

Ans: Well for me going back to Rwanda is impossible (JP, Rw, MT)

6.2.3 French in Education

French suffers from lack of financial support just like some other languages. The French-speaking teachers were reluctant to teach the language because of the lack of payment:

But madam how do you expect us to work when we are not being paid?

We are only given a stipend of \$40 what is that? I know French but I cannot teach it. If we were being paid perhaps I could consider. (FG 6 - staff room).

I found this confounding as I always had the impression that the French are as keen as the English to spread their language. But whereas the programme for support for refugee students to WUSC Canada is very active to English speaking Universities, the French is non-existent.

6.3 Attitudes towards Mother Tongues

I now turn to discuss the attitudes and roles of mother tongues in education in the camp. Mother tongues are here taken to mean the heritage languages of the refugees- those they consider their 'own' languages. Some may speak them well and some may not, but they still regard them as their 'own' languages that they identify with. The Mother tongues include Kizigua, Dinka, Nuer, Didinga, Somali, Amharic, and Luganda among others. In fact the Equatorial region of Sudan is said to have over three hundred dialects and a good number are represented in the camp.

6.3.0 Appreciation of Mother tongues

Mother tongues are well loved by many, as they are considered a powerful identity tool. In the homes many students naturally use mother tongues.

Likewise all the children do not know English and other languages. As a child who wants to communicate starts to know his/her mother tongue and slowly develops in learning other languages (E7).

When trying to purchase something it is common to see the buyer switching to the language of the seller to negotiate a better bargain. Many refugees have also learnt some Turkana- the language of the local Kenyan community occupying the land on which the camp is built, commonly referred to as the 'host' community, This is because trade with Turkana is booming and if one can speak in Turkana then they get better value for their scarce money.

I observed a warm feeling towards mother tongues both in and out of school. I noticed in the Somali community young children assemble to learn how to read and write in their own language. This practice is common in many of the communities. There are often some volunteers who feel it is their duty to pass on the language to the new generations. In my diary I entered:

Observed Sudanese church service held under trees. *What beautiful singing in Nuer! They also have MT classes and dances to preserve their culture and language.* (D5)

On Sunday evenings there are also dances in the arena in Zone One whereby different communities gather to sing and dance to their traditional music. This is a very popular practice and valued by many. Considering the distance these refugees are from home it is understandable why their mother tongues hold great importance to them.

Mother tongues are such a powerful force that it is often felt they have to be stopped or reduced if pupils are to learn English and Swahili. Speaking of mother tongues is often blamed on disuniting the refugees and causing 'tribalism' as I gathered from some informal interviews. This argument is not new. In the USA similar discourses about multilingualism causing disunity are often found in the media. We saw how Cummins (2000a) fumes at Schlesinger (1991) for indicating that the use of other languages other than English was 'disuniting America'.

6.3.1 Dislike for mother tongues

It is hard to find evidence of overt dislike for mother tongues in the camp. Many refugees liked their mother tongues and from their day-to-day communication that I observed both inside and outside of classrooms mother tongues were commonly used. It was the natural language of choice for many whenever they met someone from the same language background. The mother tongue really was the natural language of solidarity and closeness. Thus, I noticed that they tried to speak to others in the other person's mother tongue, especially when asking for a favour. This was regardless of the country of origin; many mother tongues straddle the political borders and speakers belonging to different countries would even so speak in the shared mother tongue. I noticed the Windle Trust driver waving excitedly and talking to Acoli refugees. He told me they were his brothers though they were from Uganda and he is a Luo speaker from Kenya.

The love notwithstanding, it is difficult for mother tongues to compete with the more powerful languages when it comes to economic progress and social status. This does not appear to be apparent in the intrinsic valuelessness of the language but in the powerful ideologies that have been carried forward from the colonial period and even before. Centuries of domination by other nations have meant that the local people have been devalued and their languages stigmatised. There is even still the practise of caning students for speaking their mother tongues or giving them a smelly disc to carry around their necks sometimes with the writing 'I am a Donkey'. In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986b) decries this archaic practise in Kenyan schools during the colonial era. Even now four

decades since Independence was gained these ideologies still persist. In a situation of powerful discourses elevating English and denigrating mother tongues this is not at all surprising.

There was often expressed the opinion that mother tongues should not be used in school as one can always learn them at home, or that they were no good when it comes to finding a job- the more urgent need now. As critical ethnographers we do not just record what is said. We strive to read between the lines and see their usage of mother tongues generally to understand the dilemmas many refugees are facing. This is especially so when we consider the need for solidarity after some traumatising experiences, that nevertheless have left many homesick. This has also to be weighed with those that are so traumatised by their experiences they may appear not to want anything to do with their homes again. For instance I see a situation whereby political agendas have denigrated local languages until the users have been made to feel ashamed of them. Market forces of demand and supply (see Phillipson 2006, Li 2002) demand that one acquire English quickly and not waste time with languages that will not have financial returns. Nevertheless, there is more to life than financial success and many that have lost their identity and cultural aspects to their detriment. Hornberger (2003a) presents arguments in favour of maintaining linguistic diversity for a healthy language ecological purpose. To do this it is necessary to maintain literacy in these languages, something that cannot be left to many an impoverished preliterate African home, leave alone a refugee camp.

6.3.2 Difficulties with Mother tongues

Surprisingly, there was a Somali student who was of the opinion that her mother tongue should not be taught in school as, 'It is very hard' (JA, Som, F). However, normally Mother tongues do not appear to present too much difficulties. Notwithstanding, there are related problems that could fall under this area. One is the blame placed on mother tongue use for lack of perfection in English. This is an ideology hard to eradicate. We find efforts to eliminate this problem by taking of measures that tend to stifle mother tongue use. This is evident in the use of the cane for anyone using mother tongue in school. It was in a class debate with my Teachers' Upgrade class that this practice was unveiled. As I said earlier (chapter four) what surprised me was the apparent acceptance of this practice as standard. The student teachers were concerned about the continued use of their pupils' mother tongues in school instead of the examinable subjects English and Swahili. So the solution was to cane them 'or else they will speak Dinka'.

Thus, we find that there seems to be a dichotomy between English and mother tongues. Some students ignore their mother tongue in their endeavour to learn English:

In Secondary school ...I spoke English most of the time ignoring vernacular (AAA, Sud M)

My dear readers, I am telling you that there is something I hate most in learning a language called English. It is that when one goes deep in studying English he forgets his own language. (E15)

This is a dilemma created by discourses surrounding ELT that Phillipson (1999) refers to as the 'maximum exposure fallacy'. The refugees' L1s are not given a fair chance such that this subtractive bilingualism creeps in. According to Cummins (2000) there should be no conflict in the learning of the L2 and L1 if they are well managed. In fact, good knowledge and literacy in the L1 assists in the learning of the L2. Yet, if literacy in the L1 is not developed well enough there is always the danger that as the L2 increases the L1 will decrease. But to even have half a chance the mother tongue needs to be written down and developed for literacy purposes.

6.3.3 Value of Mother tongues

Mother tongues are the acknowledged language of use in the home. They are well valued and enable generations to communicate. New members of the family are able to learn the ways of the life and this education is no less important than any other. The point is argued in Street's (2001) 'Situated Literacies' and supported by a student who says:

Our homes are the first schools where I first learn acceptable behaviour not only in the family but also in the community. It is at home that I begun using mother tongue (dialect) (E14).

This education, though has not always received the same status as the more formal education. The same student declares:

When I went to school I found that it is not only a physical institution made up of buildings, playground and school garden, but that it is also a social institution which assumes a unique role comparable to that of home. I began to socialise and experience a more organised system of learning. To begin with, I started learning English and Kiswahili when I was taken to nursery school (E14).

Teacher Gabre, an Ethiopian refugee was already in the university back home and is currently registered with the University of South Africa External Degree programme. He appeared well informed of the value of mother tongues and linguistic human rights. He argued:

Yeah it is not good for them to only speak English because they forget their mother tongue. This is bad, as their languages will die out. All languages are important as they carry a culture. When we lose our languages we lose a lot of wealth in the culture that is transmitted through language.' He therefore recommended that mother tongues be given an important place in the education of refugee children. (FG6).

A Christian minister I interviewed told me the chief concern is getting the Christian message to the people and to do so they emphasise literacy in the people's mother tongues. They conduct mobile Bible schools with a mixture of

languages. They encourage the learners to learn catechism in their own languages, sing songs, and know the liturgy. 'As a church we believe people have to use their mother tongues. We provide books, funds. This is very important. God hears our languages'. (Rev. Tom in FG 4)

I also interviewed one girl who told me of mother tongue classes that were being run for women:

So you were being taught how to read and write in your mother tongue in church? How was the programme organised?

Saturday, since we were going to school from Monday to Friday, Saturday is when we would go for mother tongue classes. In 1995, but now it has been closed.

Why?

Because of exams.

So when exams are over will it be reopened?

No, they used to teach our mothers and us. It is really for our mothers so that they can read the Bible but if one of us is taken to learn it then you can go.

As this extract shows, not much serious thought is given to mother tongue education in the camp. Yet the religious community seems to grasp the notion that for their message to reach the refugees, they have to use a language that they understand really well. If the same conviction were shared with the education policy makers one can only guess how much easier a linguistic experience it might be for many multilingual refugee learners!

6.3.4 Mother tongues in Education

Among the more educated refugees especially the teachers, I noticed a appreciation of, and awareness of the need to incorporate mother tongues in education a lot more. This was not only demonstrated by an Ethiopian teacher's concern with the possible disappearance of mother tongues, but also with a Rwandese that was willing to offer his services to teach it if opportunity was availed:

Qn: What about your mother tongue [in education]?

Ans: That's exactly what I want. In my country Kinyarwanda has been developed. I'd prefer even to be the first one to teach it (JP, Rw, MT)

The use (or lack of use) of Mother tongues in education is a thorny and sensitive issue. This is exacerbated by the fact that whereas mother tongues are loved and dear to many there is still a feeling that their value in formal education is limiting. They have to fight against discourses generated by strong ideologies that attach monetary value to languages taught in schools. There is but a token allowance of mother tongue education in the schooling of children in Kakuma camp, and indeed in most of Africa as a whole. This is, in spite of findings from research that declare the contrary. Bamgbose (2005) reports a study conducted among Yoruba children in Nigeria, whereby children taught in Yoruba were compared with those using English medium:

The outcome of the SYPP [Six-Year Primary Project] provides strong support for the use of a child's mother tongue for learning and teaching in the primary school. Because this language is already familiar, learning to

read and write in it is easier, and formation and understanding of concepts in the mother tongue also facilitates the learning process. Bamgbose (2005: 245)

Many students did mention that they started off their education with some amount of mother tongues if only used by the teacher to make sure the pupils understand what s/he is saying but these were not taken seriously or even examined:

We were learning English as the major language and mother tongue some time but not so much. They are not testing us mother tongue but we are reading it (JA, Sud, M).

Where mother tongue education is offered it is often almost what Cummins (2000a) would refer to as 'quick exit'. After around three years of mother tongue medium pupils find themselves expected to start learning in English in standard four suddenly. Skutnabb-Kangas (2006c) discusses the significance of this and concludes that rushing things does not help much:

The full benefits of mother tongue-based education will only be achieved with a long-term commitment of six to eight years; dramatic benefits will only be seen after ten or more years, when the mother tongue foundation has promoted academic learning and achievement in other languages. (2006c: 1-2)

UNESCO has often tried to give mother tongues a more central role in education but many educationists have managed to go around the pronouncements or found loopholes to squeeze their politically suitable policies through. For instance, in Sudan, the UNESCO resolution was used to get rid of English as central and replace it with Arabic with varying consequences for those for whom Arabic is not the mother tongue or L1. It goes to show that it takes more than stating policies for the dominance of powerful languages over less powerful ones to abate.

With the beginning of academic year 1965, the UNESCO resolution of 1953 was implemented. It was agreed that all subjects in primary schools should be taught in Arabic. This brought a lot of inconvenience to the South particularly. In the South the level of education of special Arabic was so low that the students could not manage to grasp any subject taught in Arabic (E73)

Tollefson (2006) reminds me of a commonly overlooked, yet important point concerning why attitudes to mother tongues in education are not always positive. Languages need to be valued for use and given better status in countries. If this is not done, many consider them unnecessary for use outside the home and, therefore, unsuitable for education. In the camp I gathered from informal interviews that many considered mother tongues only suitable for home use and non-formal interactions. An effect of this is more obvious in places such as South Africa where policy was ostensibly in favour of mother tongue education. In the pretence of offering Africans what was suitable for them, the apartheid

government offered the black Africans education in their mother tongues with a hidden agenda. They were offered poor quality education that did not prepare them for skilled work in life but was suited towards the low level jobs that were availed to them (See Blommaert 2006). This bred a dislike for mother tongue medium education, yet it was not the languages that were at fault here but the overriding policies. Thus, many still consider mother tongue medium inferior to English medium education. To allow for quality education to be offered in accessible languages attitudes such as these need to be eradicated.

Hornberger (1988) reiterates this point in her findings about language policy and practice in Peru. The Quechua appear not to support the government's initiative to promote and maintain their language even though this is seen as a successful project in that Quechua children learn to speak and value their language. She concludes that Quechua needs to be given more space in institutional contexts and linguistic biases in social mobility eliminated, for total success to be achieved.

Even more relevant to our case with refugees is the findings from research (See Cummins 1984a) that minority language learners that are allowed to use their language in class alongside English do not experience retardation in school proficiency or in majority language proficiency. Through their L1 they develop higher order cognitive and linguistic skills that help with the future development of reading in the majority language as well as with general intellectual development. Transfer occurs from the minority to the majority language because of more exposure to literacy in the majority language and 'the strong social

pressure to learn it' (Cummins 1984a: 143; Also Skutnabb-Kangas 2006c and Baker 2000: 175)

6.4 Interaction among languages

To conclude this section I briefly look at the interaction among languages. For those who argue that multilingualism is bad as it causes division then they would be surprised by the opinion expressed in one of the learners' essays:

I demand for extra languages to be taught in schools as to enhance proper communication and understanding among different nationalities and this could bring about globalisation and understanding among different nationalities and this could bring about proper globalisation in minimising the issue of misunderstanding if the languages are known by both nations and the world and this should bring peace and harmony. (E9)

Apparently, not everyone thinks that many languages are bad. As there are so many languages they may either be seen as a resource or as a problem (See Cummins 2000a; Baker 2000; Hornberger 2003a, b; Skutnabb-Kangas 2006; Phillipson 1992, 1999; Owino 2002; Webb 2003; Prah 2006).

There is interaction among languages that affects them both positively, and it would appear, negatively as well. Some languages are seen as dominating weaker ones; some are seen as 'interfering' with the learning of others (or helping, if the languages are similar). Some views are expressed below:

It [Kiswahili] is not considered imposing. Even some three small kids I know are using it instead of mother tongue. It may be seen as pressing, killing other languages (Rev. Tom FG4)

Kiswahili gave me problems, but I have seen, our language and Swahili are quite similar. I have known to write Swahili but there is interference from my mother tongue. When I speak you can see it is not so good (FR, Rw, F)

6.5 Summary

Chapter six has been an elucidation of refugee learners' experiences with languages other than English and their attitudes towards them. I have examined various languages including Swahili, Arabic, French and Mother tongues. I have seen how these languages are loved, disliked, their perceived value, difficulties that are experienced, and at their position in education. Whereas some languages are related and that makes them easier to learn, some learners are determined to learn any language, irrespective of difficulties. Yet, some still perceive the closeness between languages as causing them interference. A case in point is, among the Congolese some felt that their Kingwana dialect, considered non-standard, was a hindrance to their acquiring proficiency in standard Swahili. I have seen attitude to be a crucial factor in language experiences. Whereas some perceive relatedness among languages positively, others consider it an encumbrance causing 'interference'. Finally I reiterated the view in Baker (2000) that some view multilingualism as a resource and others as a problem. In the discussion chapter I develop these arguments further.

In the next chapter I examine the realities learners face that are effects of policies, and what the responses to these are.

CHAPTER SEVEN: LIVING THE LANGUAGE POLICY

In the previous chapter I looked at attitudes to languages other than English. I also examined their role in education and the views of the learners towards this. This chapter is also a continuation of the findings of the study. Here I discuss the realities of language policy facing the refugee learners and the strategies they use to deal with them. These realities will be looked at from different perspectives, as a lot of them have to do with extra-linguistic factors and ideologies. So I will be examining the various policies and seeing how they affect the learners.

To start us off I examine Tsui's solemn views about the real motives behind language policy. No matter what is claimed we have to bear in mind that:

Medium-of-instruction policies are shaped by an interaction between political, social and economic forces. However, among these agendas, it is always the political agenda that takes priority. Other agendas, be they social, economic, or educational, come to the fore only if they converge with the political agenda. (Tsui 2004: 113)

I am also reminded of what we saw in Phillipson's (1992, 1999) Linguistic Imperialism framework. He notes that the policy chosen to educate learners in diverse places is determined, not by what is best for the learners but by overbearing political and economic factors. Kachru (1994) adds that even those not directly colonised are under pressure from modern forms of imperialism such as cultural and technological innovations to adapt English, as there are strong ideologies and discourses demanding this. Brock- Utne (2006) reiterates that many African countries are under pressure to maintain language policies introduced during colonialism. It is very hard to maintain unique policies, as

donors to the poor African recipients dictate issues of material resources such as textbooks. Thus even though learners experience immense difficulties, and mastering the languages does not guarantee the false promises implied, the linguistic status quo is maintained.

7.0 Realities

Refugee learners in the camp experience some harsh realities that make their education doubly challenging. Here I examine the realities to do with Language-In-Education, most of which are caused by policies. We find that the refugees follow the Kenyan education curriculum. According to this curriculum mother tongues or Swahili are supposed to be used as media of instruction for the first three years of the primary syllabus. English and Swahili have to be taught as subjects right from the beginning. After Class Three the sole medium of instruction is English apart from subject languages. Examinations are done in English right from the first year in primary school. Thus, it is imperative that one gets a proper foundation in English if they are to succeed in the system. They also need to be well versed in Swahili, as it is an examinable subject, which has implications for one's overall performance. In discussing this section I am positioning myself as someone that realises that the refugees have to be examined in Standard English. The education in Kenya has not yet reached the place where 'Englishes' are recognised except among a few especially linguists, in particular in universities. Strict standards are expected from the examinees and I here examine the difficulties refugees –both students and teachers face as they try to meet this apparently unattainable goal. On the other hand I bear in mind what Kachru (1997) has said about 'World Englishes' (See chapter 3 above)

I start off with an analysis of the data that is related to cases of difficulty with language. The first difficulty that hit the learners was the realisation that they had to learn in new languages. The challenge was mainly with English as it is the main medium of instruction but they had to face up to other languages as well.

Students described the agony of being bombarded with new languages when they first came to Kakuma. For some it was such a problem that they gave up and stayed home, whereas others decided to fight it out and descend to basic levels to restart their education in the new tongue. Some started out in programmes run in the Adult Education sector where the very basics are taught and proceeded through the different levels of the Windle Trust English course until they mastered enough language (English) to allow them access to school work. This makes it ironical that students are not really allowed to join a number of the Windle Trust courses unless they are female; but manoeuvring their way round the red tape to find themselves a place is in fact one of the strategies used by students to tackle their language problems.

I now look at the realities experienced, one by one.

7.0.1 Languages are hard

The first difficulty experienced is one generally felt by many when they come across a language in an educational setting, especially if that language is new. This difficulty appears to apply to all sorts of languages. Though many express English and Swahili as being difficult, even mother tongues are said to be hard to learn by others. Here are some of the opinions expressed by students and teachers:

Truly, the problem that I have here in school is the problem of the new language, English. At home we were learning in French from primary school up to secondary we were learning French... But since we arrived here in school all subjects are taught in English whereby you have to learn the language first to be able to understand what they are talking about. (EB, Con, M)

To hear English I hear but to talk... I came here in Form Two, as Form Four was too hard for me (FM, Rw, F)

So, in Kiswahili we have a lot of problems, in Kiswahili. Mostly with the Sudanese, our friends the Sudanese. Sudanese, they act like Kiswahili is just a burden to them. Because back at home they are just used to Arabic. In their country there is no Kiswahili. Kiswahili is not even in their vocabulary back at home. So when they come here in secondary school they found Kiswahili is compulsory it becomes very stressful for them. They are not comfortable in Kiswahili. (AW, Ke, MT)

So most of them come to Kenya when they are already past the age of primary-they are already past the primary education. So like they join secondary. It becomes very hard in languages. I will not say it is only Kiswahili because even in English there is a problem. Performance has not been very good. (MA, Ke, FT)

As I perused the examination results of various schools during my visits to see my student teachers in action, I was prompted to note in my diary:

Many Sudanese do not know Swahili, neither do they like it- I saw many 'E's on their mark sheets. A pity- why do we impose it on them? (D25)

Those students that began their education outside the camp in Kenyan schools were often required to use the local language of the area as medium of instruction and to learn it as a subject. These sometimes proved challenging to the young refugee learners:

During the civil war in Somalia I was in nursery. Then when the civil war broke out we came to Liboi refugee camp where I started Standard One up to Standard Two. We shifted to Utange in Coast where the Giriama live. We have experienced Giriama language, which is very hard. I also studied there Standard Three to Standard Four (JY, Som, F)

Indeed, for some the challenge is an ongoing struggle:

There are some students who face language difficulties till the time they are leaving the compound, and therefore that one really affects negatively how they perform in both their physics and mathematics. (IM, Ke, MT)

So, here we have seen that, generally speaking, the thought of being required to learn new languages is a daunting reality the learners have to grapple with as they

strive to benefit from the free education offered in the camp. For some, the new language is just Swahili but for others they have to learn English in addition to Swahili. I now look at more specific difficulties with aspects of language-in-education starting with pronunciation.

7.0.2 Phonological realities

A lot of difficulties were expressed with pronunciation. In this we find cases where the refugee learners have no native speaker role models and often end up adapting their teachers' own pronunciations. In fact in the camp there was only one native English speaker, teaching the Windle Trust English courses. Of course we also have Kenyans for whom English is their L1, especially those born in Nairobi or in one of the cities, but that brings me to the question of whether those can still be considered native speaker models or not. (C.f. Kachru 1994). When they get to secondary school the mispronunciations are fossilised and hard to eradicate as many secondary school teachers pointed out:

In the primary schools some of their teachers are not—I am sorry to say—they are not good enough. A teacher will be pronouncing things in the wrong way and teaching students to pronounce things, as they are not really supposed to be. So a student will use the teacher's pronunciation and it is a problem trying to correct that because it is stuck in the mind that 'my teacher taught me to pronounce it this way why do you want me to pronounce it another way?' (MO, Ke, MT)

They do not have the basic foundation from primary. The difficulties they get here is the language expression. We have, for instance, pronunciation since they are from different languages and different nationalities, English becomes for them a new medium of instruction so it very difficult for us to communicate with. (BOO, Sud, MT)

Kiswahili? Ehe! Kiswahili, I do not want to talk about it. Kiswahili is tough...we have problems of letters- to pronounce it is difficult. (DA, Sud, F)

In my classroom observations I was also confused about the nationality of one of the teachers because of the way he was pronouncing words. I recorded my perplexity in my diary:

Attended Form One agriculture on ‘ Livestock Production’ by teacher Tajo Wiloyo whom I thought was from Uganda but later learnt he is Equatorial Sudanese educated in Uganda, –Even the accent! *Does this mean much of our accents are an influence of our teachers?* (D25)

Many of the challenges to do with phonology appear to be related to L1 transfer or ‘interference’ from other languages they know:

Even you find difficulties from the first language that they were taught. So this one leaves a big problem with their pronunciation. They have a very big problem pronouncing English words. Someone will want to pronounce

an English word like a French word. For example instead of saying 'responsible' he will say [rasponsibl]. Something like that because some of the words in English and French are similar so a student will want to transfer that pronunciation to English. (MO, Ke, MT).

Thus, without doubt pronunciation is a major setback for many of the refugees. To make matters worse people tend to judge someone's language proficiency by their pronunciation. Some refugee learners were taken aback by their poor pronunciations but others felt they were all right if they could grasp the language system, to which I now turn our attention.

7.0.3 The Language System

In addition to the pronunciation challenges I noted, I also find difficulties expressed about various aspects of the language system. Language system here is taken to include tenses, spelling (orthography), punctuation, agreement, prepositions and other word classifications, also referred to as 'parts of speech'. To start with I will give a brief extract from a descriptive essay where the student was describing an encounter with the person she 'dislikes most'. We notice that the student has an idea what she is talking about and in fact credit was given for her imaginative description. Nevertheless, much of it is clouded by difficulties with tenses, punctuation, spellings as well as vocabulary, where she does not have the appropriate euphemisms:

He do wear earring on the left earn side, and neckness- gold on his neck. Extually his head is so long at the back, he have tall black hair and make it

splaite at line back, he look like lady because of splaite hair. Sometimes he leave it uncomb, when you see it, it look like the bunch of flies, also his hair is rough like water in the sea, when the water make its dancing. ...I met him on the way, he walked looking downward. His shirt was hanging without tacking in and put trouser under the battok, the trouser seem to be falldown and walked like a person who got a problem between the battok, one leg far from other leg...

I just said, how can you force me to greet you while I do not feel like to greet you? And I continued on my way to home, then he run after me, by saying that, if you do not waite me you will see now...There he was about to bit me, soon my brother came riding his bicycle and jumped out on his bicycle and boxed themselves till that man run away (E16-17)

We find that in some cases even where students are comfortable with speaking a language, writing still presents a big challenge. This is expressed concerning Arabic whereby students speak the Juba Arabic variety but find the Arabic orthography difficult. It is also expressed concerning English and French, whereby some can speak them but find writing difficult. The following interview extract demonstrates this:

But the problem we are having is most of them know how to speak the language. They speak well Le Français, but they do not know how to write it.

Again?

Yes, they have a problem with that. Orally they are OK but when it comes to writing...

Why do you think that is the case?

I think they are used to French in primary level and secondary level. They are used to speaking French at home like when you bring up a child she

can speak it but to write what she or he is speaking, is a problem. (AW, Ke, MT)

Students also experience challenges with vocabulary, spelling and other aspects of the language system especially as they try to get the standard forms correct.

Teachers pointed these out:

You see that most of them they do not speak the correct English- a lot of grammatical mistakes but they communicate anyway. They communicate anyway. I think the biggest problem is that pronunciation and then the tenses. (MO, Ke, MT).

He may try to express something, which is better but because of his ignorance of English the words just stick up, and it becomes difficult for him. It becomes harmful for them.

Harmful?

Yes harmful. He becomes aggressive while he looks for the word. Then also another problem, people recognise it, though we have tried, we have tried how to put the sentence in the correct way- in the writing system in English, how the English people write like the use of the capital letters, the verbs, the articles, prepositions, to put these in just one way...to improve is a major weakness. (BOO, Sud, MT)

Below are some examples of the numerous challenges I observed in the classroom interactions and around the camp. The first school here was a Primary school (I will refer to it as Primary School 1 for ethical reasons) where I observed two teachers that were my students in the LWF Teachers' Upgrade Classes

Primary School 1, Teacher1

Teacher 1: Std 4 GHC: Pig, Camel, Donkey

The lesson was simple as it is a lower level class. The teacher's pronunciation is highly influenced by his mother tongue, which does not distinguish between 'p' and 'f'. With the drill method of teaching some of this is passed on to the children who have to repeat after him several times.

The teacher here is communicating as he is using pictures to show what is meant.

To proponents of World Englishes the apparent mispronunciations do not matter much. In fact Can this be helped? Is it fossilised?

Use of articles needs improvement: 'A meat of a pig is called a pork' (pronounced 'a meat of a fig is called a fog' and children asked to repeat severally); 'A meat of a donkey is eaten'; 'the god told them not to eat a meat from a pig'; 'Camel is used as a means of transport.

Tenses: 'We kept camel for milk', 'Yes, I eat it one time'.

Teacher 2: Though less pained by pronunciation than Teacher 1, the second teacher also had his quandaries: His biggest set back was the confusion between how time is told in African languages and in English: I noticed that he told children that time begun at 1:00 am instead of at 12 midnight. Her I had to step in and clarify the difference. The problem here seemed to be that in African languages the day really begins at sunrise and the time is usually counted as 1:00 (7:00am) going on to twelve (6:00pm)

Primary School 2: The teacher here also had snags with the language system as well as pronunciation. In defining nouns, he had hitches with articles and prepositions:

Singular noun refer for a single person or place'

'This is refer to one man (man), one ox (an ox)'

He also had difficulty with pronunciation as he considered 'tongue' and 'tong' homophones:

'Tongs> 'what is tongue is?' The same pronounce but different spellings

'Material or device used to withdraw hot metals from fire'

He also seemed to struggle with tenses:

News>' a piece of information which we received/heard from somewhere else'

'A scissors is... not a pair of scissors' (D23)

Even the secondary school teachers found themselves struggling with noun classification, agreement, and number among others. One kept on referring to milk as though it were a countable noun:

'This milk-they can either be consumed or put in the milking cans before they are taken to the—where they are processed. 'Holding milk in transit before they are transferred.

He also had trouble with tenses, pronunciation and spellings. He asked the students:

'Have you understand it?

Further, he pronounced ‘abnormalities’ and ‘beer’ which he pronounced ‘abonomalities’ and ‘bears’:

‘Abonomalities in the milk.’

‘ If you overdose yourself with bears your enzymes will fail to work and you end up with blot’

Cows and sip-foot rot (instead of sheep)

And when students complained that they could not understand him:

‘Mwalimu [teacher]! Why mwalimu have not taught us this one.

He replied:

You will taught. (D38)

Sometimes the teachers were so oblivious of the errors even when pointed out by a pupil, they could not recognise them. One wrote on the blackboard the topic as:

‘THE EARY MISSINARY CONTRIBUTION’.

He was corrected by a pupil and changed ‘Early’ but ‘Missinary’ was repeated and went unnoticed. He also talked of them carrying a ‘massage’ instead of message. Neither was he mindful of articles:

‘In way they wanted to continue’

‘One way of reaching people with gospel...’ (D40)

A biology teacher also mistook egg york for yolk (D41)

Some teachers were able to realise their mistakes though, and self-correct:

‘You are fearing the visitor? He will not laugh at you. She will not laugh at you’ (self correction). (JP, Con, MT)

I give these examples not to discredit the teachers especially as for many of them English is even their fourth or fifth language. They are quite comfortable in Arabic, French and Amharic and other languages in which they were educated. Instead, I give these examples to demonstrate how the language system causes a challenge to the refugee education in a major way. The camp context exacerbates this situation too. Many of those being used to teach are in need themselves of further engagement with the English language, that is the language of instruction. They need more exposure to language in use to familiarise themselves with better vocabulary and sentence construction. However, it is hard to recruit qualified teachers to work in the semi-desert wilderness that is Kakuma. Even when there are some willing to teach, since the camp is considered a private enterprise by the Kenyan government the schools do not get the support accorded to publicly funded government schools. All these add to the deprivation of language enhancement resources leading to a ‘Kakuma English’ developing that is a result of making the best of a bad situation.

7.0.4 Cultural differences

Difficulties with cultural understanding were also experienced. At times the students had trouble understanding things an English person would take for granted. I had some trouble trying to teach my Teachers’ Upgrade Class prepositions and possessives, as they argued supporting one another against me.

One wanted to know why ‘one of my bad lucks is being away from my beloved country’ is incorrect.

‘You do not count luck-perhaps you can use misfortunes?’(D12)

In the next chapter, the discussion chapter, I follow-up this thought and analyse the ideologies surrounding the rigidity of correct ‘native speaker English.’

There was also an outcry over a news item in the refugees’ magazine, produced by the Kakuma Journalism club. Someone got into deep trouble with the law for sexually assaulting a woman, and the writers felt that the punishment he received was excessive for ‘mere rape’. This, of course outraged a British teacher who objected to the use of ‘mere’ for such a horrendous crime. However, considering the socio-cultural backgrounds of some of the refugees, where women are treated in unmentionable ways rape is perhaps ‘mere’.

Enhancing cultural understanding: The main problem is exposure to role model speakers of English. Access to Standard English speakers can be good for their practice. If radios or television were made accessible to them then it could help with the authenticity question. These could be used in teaching as well as being provided for personal use and practice in the libraries. Expanding the use of IT especially access to the Internet can make a substantial difference as well.

7.1 *Extra-linguistic ordeals and ideologies*

Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (2000) conducted an ethnographic study of why pupils in a rural Solomon Islands community performed poorly in English. They found out that contrary to assumptions young Island children also had story telling sessions with their parents and carers, so it could not be said that they had no prior start to their education. After negating strong ideologies, they found that there were extracurricular and extra-linguistic factors that affected performance in English in schools. Key to these was rural poverty and its related disadvantages. They therefore recommended that macro-societal factors be carefully examined in every study to see how they interact with micro-social factors to affect learning.

It is in this light that we ensue here to highlight factors that, though in themselves may not appear to directly affect language in education, do have implications for language learning among the refugees. In an ideal setting, such as in schools in England all students would be provided with a comfortable learning environment with good classrooms with walls decorated with students' work and meaningful educative posters. For those unable to afford it, free school meals would be provided. The learner's task would therefore be to concentrate on learning with enough resources for discovery and learner-centred education.

In Kakuma, however, the refugee learner has to face up to many harsh realities that make this but a far-fetched dream. In the previous chapters I have had many of them highlighted already so I will not go too much into their detail here. The ones I discuss here include:

- (i) Shortage of teachers and teacher expertise
- (ii) Overcrowding

- i) Resources- (fabrics) physical facilities, non-human resources
- v) Social factors-queuing for food, cultural constraints
-) Administrative -red tape,

To start us off I examine a short background of how the refugees found themselves with this language-in-education quagmire. When they first arrived in Ethiopia from Sudan the Sudanese tried to adopt the Ethiopian Education system. Indeed, those who could afford to live outside the camps did learn in Ethiopian schools, in their languages, especially Amharic. They soon changed their mind and opted for the Kenyan education system instead. This is more so since there was logistical support from agencies based in Nairobi, Kenya. For instance books for this curriculum were sent to them from Kenya and they were then able to teach their children the Kenyan 8-4-4 syllabus. Having adapted this system of education the refugee learners found themselves hit by harsh realities that have made their education a great struggle. I will look at each one and hint at possible ways of combating these realities.

7.1.0 Staff impediments

The first impediment the refugees have to deal with was the lack of qualified teachers, especially as concerns Swahili but English as well. A class had 150 pupils crammed into one little classroom and taught by one teacher standing at the front for most of the lesson due to lack of space to move around.

Below is an extract from the notes I made from a focus group discussion I had with Sudanese elders. It shows how the dilemma of finding good teachers who can

speak and teach in the required languages has been a real setback to them right from the beginning:

A major challenge posed by adopting this syllabus was the Swahili requirement. They did not have Swahili teachers and so instead of Swahili they taught their children Arabic language, which was their national language. The language of instruction though was English. This was even made more necessary as some children were already in Standard Five and had had no prior exposure to Swahili. (FG 1)

When they reached Kenya, however, they dropped Arabic for Swahili and employed Kenyan teachers to help with the teaching of this new language. There were many problems facing this change of languages though, including the following:

- Many of those employed were not trained teachers.
- Poor performance in the language attributed to various factors by the elders for example:

‘The students do not use Swahili when they leave school, so have no chance to practise it. They melt back into the community and speak Dinka, Arabic and other dialects but not Swahili.’

‘It is said that the problem is because here there is no concentration. But I feel teachers have not set effective standards how to make it be learnt- children would have learnt.’

In fact the majority were sacked in 1998 after an inspection (FG 1)

Here, we find that even though the Kenyan syllabus was preferred right from Ethiopia, the language question was a real headache for them. It appears to have

been a good compromise to adapt the education system and appropriate it to suit their needs. So the replacement of Swahili with Arabic served them effectively as recommended in Canagarajah (1999). However, it was a short-lived innovation, as they were soon required to leave Ethiopia and come to Kenya. Then, the language monster reared its head again.

They had no real choice in Kenya but to take the bull by the horns and follow the syllabus fully, including fulfilling the language requirements. The dilemma seemed to be discriminating between good Swahili teachers and anyone who could speak Swahili and thus teach it. Most Kenyans can speak Swahili and write it with ease but does that make them suitable to teach it? It would appear from the Focus group discussion that not all the elders thought so. They did acknowledge that there were some very good teachers but they were dissatisfied with most. As is required in the Kenyan education, inspection took place and most of these teachers were dismissed.

This brings me to the point of who should really teach a language. In a situation where we have an experienced, trained teacher versus a native speaker of the language that is not a teacher, who gets the job? The practice in many oriental countries has been to give more prominence to English native speakers as opposed to their own teachers with degrees in the language. In fact, to reach a middle ground the practice of pairing a native English speaker with an English trained local teacher became very popular. Of course a myriad of problems has encumbered the system but that is for another place.⁶ However, as Graddol (2006)

points out, there is a change in this trend with bilingual teachers beginning to get preference. This is because their skills are more useful for learners that are also bilingual.

Besides, in their case, the refugees really had no choice for they had to have teachers that knew Swahili and had to get them from Kenya. Even now most of the Swahili teachers are Kenyans. On the other hand, refugee school leavers from within the camp are very willing and enthusiastic to help teach Swahili whenever they can. Even those that are experts in other subjects end up teaching Swahili on voluntary terms or otherwise. I saw two volunteers offering their free services to schools. I also saw two school leavers already teaching it though one was on his way to Canada to study medicine.

The refugees, in their quest for education, also feel shortage of qualified and experienced teachers in other areas apart from Swahili. A student mourned:

There a lot of difficulties facing us so we need good teaching but there is lack of good teachers though you are well committed and you are struggling, like me now, I feel like I would like to be educated. But there are ...books though I would like to learn everything and to read all books but there is lack of teachers. (ABA, Sud, F)

⁶ For instance the question of who is the real teacher in charge of a class often arises. Frustrations occur as well trained language teachers see native speakers fumbling with teaching issues that a trained teacher should handle with ease. For more discussions on this issue please see Tsui 2005

Even where there are teachers there are still difficulties of communication. Sometimes it is because of the teacher's own struggles with the language and sometimes due to other extra-curricular factors: Sometimes students expect perfection from a teacher, something that cannot be guaranteed.

Teachers are not perfect, like some teachers of sciences and English and Kiswahili. They are not teaching us for a learner to want to know that English or that Kiswahili-because we want to know deeply or to be, we want everything to be explained. And how that happened and what is that; we want to know it all those things but since the teachers are not perfect, we have got lack of that. Lack of teachers. (ABA, Sud, F)

7.1.0.1 Dealing with this reality

The shortage of staff is a recognised problem that is being tackled by those concerned with education. There is a recruitment drive to quickly absorb those refugees that successfully complete education so as to use them to help other learners. However, there is pressure as financial constraints greatly obstruct this. Just at the end of my visit there were further reductions in staff from schools, especially non-refugee teachers (who cost more to employ than refugees). It was a crisis when I left but the LWF/DWS claimed staff reduction was part of its ongoing downsizing being done by many organisations nowadays, where it is believed that reducing staff leads to more efficiency. The remaining teachers, mostly refugees were mainly discontent with the meagre 'incentive' they received of around \$40 per month. So the solution of this problem seems to lie in the sponsors of the education programme to make sure it does not collapse as many

refugees say education is one of the most useful things available in the harsh life in the camp. Taking this away from them or letting it collapse would be a great disservice to them.

Providing in service training for the teachers to improve their skills goes a long way in dealing with this problem. However, very few refugee teachers get the opportunity for this training. The English Upgrade courses run by the Windle Trust covering different levels of English Language proficiency are one of the most important ways of dealing with this harsh reality. So this agency needs more support from its donors in order to hold more of these training sessions.

Also upgrading teachers by in-service courses should be further emphasised. A new teachers college has been built in Kakuma Town to cater for local teachers and a few refugee learners attend, but more of these opportunities should be available for the refugee teachers to improve their communication.

Being that there is such a shortage of teachers the onus then is on the individual learner to make an extra effort to learn the language on their own and through other support systems in the camp and elsewhere. Students make a lot of effort to learn these languages in order to progress in their education. We find that most students spend extra time and sometimes, even money to learn the necessary language. Even those with scarce resources in the refugee community told of being prepared to spend money to learn the languages, especially, English. A student with Somali educational background had to pay his way to learn English:

You were writing in Somali language?

But I... I joined private school

Where?

In our local private school in the community....

And how much were you paying?

It was one hundred, per month (HM, SB, M)

For those with no funds for private hire **sheer hard work and determination** is what keeps them going. These students reported **attaching themselves to other students and teachers** in order to improve their lot in languages, especially. At first it is challenging being plunged into schools requiring English and Swahili.

What the teachers were saying was very hard to understand since we knew nothing about English and the other languages. So what we would do at that time, we were being told at least pick some trees or some sticks, if it was a matter of mathematics we collect some sticks, stones. There were no exercise books at that time. Teachers were telling us, 'if you want to know this 1+1 we give you a stick and add the other stick that is how you come to 2. English was very hard only that...what we understand is what the teacher says... (NB, Sud, M)

When this same student was privileged to leave the camp for a while and try education in Kenyan schools he came face to face with more realities

In 1996 when I was in Roysambu that was when I knew that there is a standard of English, there is a world of English, a world whereby there are different things compared to tradition life. Things there I managed and I

grabbed some things in English attached myself to teachers, attached myself to colleagues who...my uncle was a teacher in one of the universities; a lecturer and I decided to be with him in the evening hours at the dining table. I ask him some questions. When I come back from the school I do some homework I push. (NB, Sud, M)

7.1.1 Resources

Shortage of learning facilities is another reality the refugee learner grapples with. Here we are talking about the fabric, physical facilities and non-human resources. There is often a lack of stationery and equipment especially laboratory necessities. Some schools had filled up toilets and their existence is slowly being eroded away by floods from the Tarach River. In fact some schools have been all but washed away by the floods and have to hold classes in neighbouring schools or on alternative sites, failing which, they resort to learning under trees with the ever looming threat of dust storms. This, unfortunately, is taking the situation back to what it was like when the camp was first set up:

In 1992 we were being taught down there, down the trees there. So teaching was very hard but because of the conditions we could at least cope up with it. People were being taught... there were no chalkboards like we see today. There was only some... things like...a wooden board that seemed like something similar to a blackboard. What the teachers were saying was very hard to understand since we knew nothing about English and the other languages...there were no exercise books at that time... English was very hard only that...what we understand is what the teacher says... (NB, Sud, M)

Some schools are set in noisy environments making it hard to teach. When I visited Primary School 3 I noted this:

The lower class children have their break and are really making noise outside.... The blackboard is too low for the tall teacher- he really has to bend over to write on it! He is writing 'kombo' (crookedly) (D22-23)

Apart from unsuitable settings there are also some realities that accrue from basic needs. Some pupils do not even have food as their meagre fortnightly rations get used up quickly. Porridge is usually given in all schools to help deal with hunger and enable learners to concentrate. It is, therefore a tragedy in a school I visited where there has been no porridge for over a year, due to administrative red tape. Being a relatively new school, it is encumbered with facility shortages but this is quite typical of camp schools. The following extract from my diary on a visit to the school more or less sums up these needs:

Visited Primary School 3. It is at the end of the camp-in Kakuma Three.... Main concern is no kitchen for porridge. World Vision could not allow them to construct own temporary one for the time being. Neither did they allow them to use the offered neighbouring parish one- must be in the school compound. Some children do not go back to school after break. Some excused themselves from class 'to go see if mum has cooked anything.'

The teacher queried one famished looking child:
Did you eat yesterday?'
'Our food got finished'.

Teachers agreed not to use their 'incentive' to get themselves tea so as to 'suffer together with our children'. (D27)

To add insult to injury most pupils did not even have decent desks to seat their hungry selves on:

There were two desks on which sat some of the older pupils, three stones and three mats. The rest sat on the dusty floor and kept shifting to find the most comfortable position to write from. One girl in uniform shifted three times and eventually sat on her slippers. Some tore pages from their exercise books and sat on them. Loose dust is about one inch thick. The teacher went round marking. But he informed me that before break the class had been so full he could not move around let alone stand!

After the 30 minutes' lessons pupils line up outside the staff room for the teachers to mark their work. The class has 131 pupils. Class Two has 145. We also have some really little ones who follow their brothers or sisters to school and can be seen sitting outside along the walls. (D27)

This scarcity is not only experienced in the regular schools but is also witnessed to by those who try to improve their language skills by attending classes offered by Windle Trust and Adult Education among others. A report by one of the Windle Trust teachers concerning the English support classes he offers also highlights some of these shortages:

'There is a waiting list of 37 refugees of various nationalities for the January 2004 course, with other applications pending and new ones being offered daily.

The class meets in the IRC MPC 1 Complex; in a hot but well ventilated mud-walled classroom with cement floor and a corrugated iron roof... **the small blackboard on a broken chair remains totally inadequate for my teaching purposes.** Attendance has been at a very high level for the month [of July] despite the heat and humidity growing almost daily. The eminent Congolese doctor who has learnt English through Windle classes and expressed the desire to join the KAELP class ...has had considerable problems in obtaining permission to do so by IRC who claim to be so short that they are unable to release him in the afternoons at present; however he has been attending intermittently as the pressure on his time varies from within the hospital.’ (D5-6)

Scarcity of places on the Windle Trust courses is thus one of the major setbacks. The demand is higher than the supply and refugees have to queue for months or even years to secure a place since only two courses can be run per level per year. Even when a place is secured we find that sometimes other demands hinder it from being effectively utilised. Absences accrue from extra-educational factors and these all rankle the refugees. From the extract above we see that sometimes the climate is too harsh for proper learning as classes may take place in substandard buildings and the heat and humidity cause unbearable discomfort. We also see that demands at work can vex a determined learner, such as the Congolese doctor mentioned above.

The teacher –pupil ratio in class of sometimes 1:71 needs to be reduced to at least one teacher to fifty pupils. There are also no free textbooks to camp schools

because the government considers them private schools-not government aided. Thus they cannot get sponsorship from the government for textbooks.

7.1.1.0 Improving resources:

Policy needs to acknowledge that refugee camp schools are not private schools and should be entitled to teachers and supplies. The fact that the schools are located in a refugee camp should not lead to their being discriminated against. After all the very policy demands that they follow the Kenyan syllabus so the least that can be done is to provide the logistical support to ensure the programmes are run smoothly.

There are some community libraries such as the Ethiopian one. Students need to be encouraged and allowed to make use of such communities' libraries to improve their linguistic abilities.

7.1.2 Limited opportunity

Limited opportunity to put to use learnt languages is another reality faced by the refugee learner. Furthermore, those who do not get jobs or opportunities to put what they have learnt to use fear they may revert to illiteracy or forget the language they have learnt:

Sr. Komodo, the pastor's wife explained that she finished Form Four back home in Congo. Here she has learnt English from Beginners but now she is unable to access the Advanced class. She has applied to LWF (Lutheran World Federation) to put this English to use or else it will 'disappear'.
(D9).

Comment: There is a feeling of helplessness among francophone refugees who had studied to high levels in their own countries.... She had a B+ in the Upper intermediate but has not been able to access the Advanced class that is very competitive. Will her English 'disappear' as she fears if LWF does not give her a job that will enable her to 'practise' it? (D9-10)

A teacher also pointed out this problem among refugees:

We have also been having as I have just mentioned, some students who may be wanting to further their education, maybe they have done primary education in Ethiopia or Sudan and it was done in Amharic in Ethiopia, in Arabic in Sudan and we have been having that language problem. Now this person has qualified this much, is he just to pick off from the position he was in now that the language of instruction has just changed or go to Form Two wherever you are coming from? Now people are now just idling around because neither can they further nor can they apply what they had learnt back in Sudan or Ethiopia. (IM, Ke, MT)

7.1.3 Overcrowding

There is another harsh reality when it comes to size of classes: most of the classes are too large for a teacher to control in schools, especially in secondary schools, but also in primary. When observing one of my teachers-in-practice I was amazed at the sheer population in one class. The ratio of learners to teachers is sometimes as much as 100: 1. In one class I observed in Primary School 3, it took the teacher 15 minutes of the 35 minutes' lesson to call the register alone! He says if you do not actually take the register you cannot monitor attendance since the class always

looks full even with a substantial number missing. I had a talk with the teacher and noted in my diary:

Comment: problems of teaching large classes! No space to move around and control class. Marking 150 books! One class! Interferes with preparation so give little work. ...Cannot divide class into groups for group work (D35).

7.1.3.0 Tackling overcrowding

There is need to educate donors about the seriousness of the situation on the ground and try to seek for further funding. Education in Kakuma is competing for donors' funds with other desperate areas, making benefactors grow complacent because they think the situation is less urgent. So accurate information must reach the donors with campaigns for this.

For instance one of the schools that is now grossly overcrowded was built by funds from a Japanese donor that is why it bears the name 'Fuji'. Even though the young Japanese philanthropist that was closely involved in their activities was unfortunately killed in an accident in the region, a memorial fund set up in his name, for instance, could help a great deal.

7.1.4 Social factors

As mentioned above some of the realities are unique to Kakuma Refugee Camp. These are mainly socio- cultural factors such as queuing for food, and cultural festivities, for instance. They include students dropping out of classes because they have to prepare for resettlement, head count or weddings, the rare but violent storms and floods that cut off communication from different parts of the camp,

trauma and cultural factors. These are very serious problems that are in fact time wasting. Let's examine each:

7.1.4.0 Absenteeism:

Resettlement interviews take long hours off students' time and give a hope that distracts them, sometimes leading to utter disappointment and discouragement if unsuccessful. Students have to undergo health tests and other preparations that really consume their valuable time. Also they often attend several interviews (on average, three) to countercheck their stories in order to establish genuine cases for resettlement.

Wedding celebrations and their arrangements involve a lot of planning and partying with huge drums of alcohol consumed. The sheer number of these weddings leads to great absenteeism. Almost entire communities are involved in the delicate negotiations for dowry and its distribution among extended families. A lot of absent students can easily be found involved in these wedding celebrations. With so many 'Lost Boys' in the US having wedding arrangements made in the camp communities and being asked to provide as much dowry as £10,000 it is understandable why everyone wants to get involved. The influence of tradition on education cannot be overemphasised. This situation is reminiscent of Williams' (2007:203) anecdote about absenteeism in Malawi. A head teacher in a rural primary school in Malawi claimed that the main cause of absenteeism was also caused by traditional practices. Participation in initiation ceremonies among the Chewa people in both Zambia and Malawi are a source of concern as they interfere with school attendance.

Food distribution, which takes standing in long queues, is another typical Kakuma problem that causes absenteeism. I observed long queues starting to form even before distribution. It is hard for the students to collect food as well as attending school, yet each student needs to eat as well as study. I made a note of this observation in my diary as we rode past a long queue with the driver:

On the way from a poorly attended class Abok the driver told me about the absenteeism caused from 15th of every month when food distribution starts. Teachers have a timetable for collecting food but pupils make their own. (D11)

This absenteeism is enhanced during food distribution time but is not unique to such times. A teacher reminded me of these problems:

And then also it is the problems, which they are facing. You may find a student is also alone as a size one, as a single- he is himself the father, the mother, he is also a student. He must go and look for what he may eat- this and that. So you find that this discourages some students in the school. They may come during a week two or three days, then a student disappears. Such things interrupt their studies, and once there is an interruption they are also facing a problem. (WO, Con, MT)

Improving attendance:

If possible there should be a timetable for the size-one family students to collect their food as fast as possible. They should not be expected to queue with the other refugees that have plenty of time. If possible, in fact, their food should be set aside

and distributed to them during out-of-school hours. As for wedding ceremonies, strict monitoring should be done to ensure no students are involved during school time. They should make plans for after school, especially considering that there are no afternoon classes after 1:30pm.

7.1.4.1 Trauma:

Some of the students also have a **troubled lifestyle** that makes it hard for them to settle in any one place. For reasons good and not so good, students keep on traversing the borders and do not settle down properly to their education. Sometimes they try to go back home to see if they can trace loved ones or if life would be better there, war or no war, than in the camp, but more often than not, the insecurity drives them back. Also as one student pointed out: ‘some pupils come to school drunk or others smoke or chew *miraa* at school. This influence other to behave like drug addicted.’ (E 64). These need parental guidance, which is often lacking, as many are orphans. The point was reiterated by one of their teachers, himself a refugee:

But even though they have much interest in English also they are not improving well. Why they are not improving well in English is a matter of base. They do not have a good foundation. Most of them have grown here in the camp as refugees. Moving here, going to Ethiopia coming back, going here and there, they are not having a base, good foundation, good education from the beginning so that they could improve. (WO, Con, MT)

This **trauma** is not limited to the learner. Some of the teachers have experienced atrocities and persecution that have affected their families and them as well:

We are also facing our own problems and if the teacher himself is traumatised, what about the student? Such things affect also the life or the education here. And so the language Kiswahili and French one of other language must also be affected also. So those are the challenges we are facing. (WO, Con, MT).

This trauma is not helped by ‘The interference of the locals who constantly attack the refugees’ (E85). Indeed, many refugees expressed fear of conflict with the local Turkana that have sometimes in the past escalated into something similar to war. These have led to loss of life and property and great insecurity. I saw schools that had been vandalised during the previous clashes and was shown the great destruction to school property including precious books.

A calmer atmosphere: A lot of effort is being made to provide sound security. Lately the Kenyan government has really stepped up efforts to combat these clashes and provide a safe working environment for the refugees. They have set up a unit for a special police unit called the GSU (General Service Unit) next to the camp and these patrol the camp surroundings. It is a well-known and much feared unit and is usually only deployed in serious cases. This has sobered up the military among both the refugees and the Turkana herdsman who are usually armed. An American resettlement charity has also provided enhanced security for

their workers and their presence reassures all that in case of trouble help would not be far.

As for trauma students are counselled whenever they appear to need psychological assistance. The JRS and IRC have special departments providing help and rehabilitation for those traumatised by war. What they need to do is increase their efforts and look more into practicalities since even after counselling when one has to go back to their abject poverty and destitution chances of healing are reduced.

In fact, it has been suggested that a boarding school be established to cater for those students in really disturbing circumstances. Their job will be to concentrate on studying and not on looking for what to eat for dinner.

7.1.4.2 Cultural realities:

Some realities based on the strong cultural element in the camp also hit the refugee learner, hindering him/her from advancing and learning the language properly. These include the age factor and gender factor among others.

a) Age factor: some pupils are age mates to teachers or even older. These kinds of pupils sometimes ignore the younger teachers since in their cultures age is a major determinant of power-the older one is, the greater the respect they command. At other times they may feel too old to continue learning and thus drop out early as I noted in my diary:

Saw one, a Class five English lesson on 'Singular versus plural nouns' by Jamal.... The children were not really paying attention...One bearded fellow went out without speaking to the teacher. Later on I learnt that there

are even 35 or 26 year olds in primary school. Most of these come from cattle camps in pastoralist communities in Sudan whereby not only do they not know English but they are also not yet literate (pre-literate). Some feel too old and eventually drop out. This reminds me of what I was told about girls in the parallel primary school. As soon as they learn how to read and write they drop out- aim achieved-much to the fury of their teachers. (D12)

b) **The Gender Factor**: I had a long interview with Lillian (one of the Windle staff members) in charge of the Kakuma Women's English Language Programme- (KELP) concerning her women and gender classes. She told me about many factors that affect women's education and how they try to combat them to provide accessible education for the women. Some did not use to attend because of their cultural background whereby they felt uncomfortable being with men in the same class, among other reasons, some of which cannot be written here.

Culture sometimes also dictates that marriage is the prime, if not only, duty of a woman and the sooner she gets into it the better. This leads to a **huge dropout rate**, especially among the girls. Here is an extract from my observations:

There is a high rate of school dropout: girls drop out around standard 7 or 8 in normal schools. They only wanted to learn how to read and write. Many fear that if educated they will be despised and thus will not get husbands...Bari- a Somali community has a lot of forced marriages. (D16)

Comment: This is a real problem and there are cases where very young girls have to leave school to get married, often as second, third or fourth wives. There are NGOs fighting this but the cultural element is still a strong challenge to

girl-child education. No wonder a special unit has had to be set up to encourage girls that dropped out of school in order to get married to have a second chance at education. (D16)

Equity for all: Educating them on enhanced expectations of women is important. Actually there a quite a number of gender based charities working to educate all about gender equity. In fact, it almost appeared like the boy-child was getting neglected as so much attention is poured on the girl-child. She is given incentives to lure her to school and keep her there. Soap, sanitary towels, uniforms and all she might need is provided as much as resources allow. But there is still a deep cultural belief hard to root out.

The creation of the women-only classes was one of the strategies that allowed women to get a chance to learn, therefore. These include women English classes as well as classes for girls who dropped out to get married or take care of babies. I observed two of the classes and saw good participation from apparently shy, well-covered and veiled women who under other circumstances would not speak, especially if there were men around.

c) Titles and ranks: Faith, an intelligent and well-experienced Sudanese also revealed to me that as a female teacher it took her a long time to find acceptance from her circumcised male students. This is because cultural beliefs concerning authority place the circumcised man way above the female no matter what his age may be. Even though they are in a classroom set up they do not seem to realise the

shift in power relations, with the teacher not feeling superior but expecting due mutual respect.

The same applies to the unique dilemmas some teachers find themselves in, defined by a student as:

Political background: some pupils have military ranks therefore do not expect a civilian to control them. (E63)

Knowing how to separate their roles in the wars in their countries from the academic setting of the classroom is a major test to some students, especially those who started off as child soldiers and have risen through the ranks in the wars they have fought. Some do not understand that while here in the camp those military roles become virtually irrelevant. They still expect to swing their muscle even though this hinders their integration into the civilian academic school settings.

Educating them on how to keep their roles separate is a good first step for handling these sensitive issues. Even though their values are not downplayed, they have to understand that they apply in certain settings only and should not be allowed to get in the way of their education.

7.1.5 Other constraints

In addition to the ones discussed above, there are also some other constraints to refugee education. The first of these is a major set back and is the problem of red

tape. One almost felt like becoming a Florence Nightingale and taking the required resources to where they were needed. We had a casual group discussion and this issue was cited as causing frustration to teachers and learners. For instance there was frustration in Secondary School Two over a much needed water tank. I noted:

The tank in school 5 took a month to deliver and then already a week later has not yet been put up. Meanwhile no experiments can go on in labs etc without water. We discussed Primary 3 case [no porridge is being provided because there is no kitchen yet] and were almost amused when we came to division of labour. Each NGO has its portion, which others dare not cross. The new Somali Bantu School for example, is ready but there are no toilets. This is the domain of IRC sanitation so schools cannot start without them. We should not be surprised to find the toilets built and the roof left for World Vision! [In charge of providing shelters, thus, roofing] (D29)

Proper co-ordination and more inter-NGO meetings are needed to ensure justice. Refugee children's education should not be hampered by hunger where porridge is available but unreachable. NGOs have to be flexible and always put the refugee at the heart of their operations and what is best for them prioritised.

7.2 Dealing with the realities

Finally, in this section I discuss the various strategies used by the students to cope with their situation and learn as best as they can- other approaches to deal with these realities. I also look at strategies by other stakeholders in their education,

such as parents and teachers. This is what I colour coded blue and dark blue. Blue was for own strategies and dark blue for others' efforts or lack thereof.

7.2.0 Individual strategies

One hot afternoon, early in my research I saw a Congolese refugee reading a grammar book on a veranda. I approached him for an interview on language issues in his community and gathered that:

He has been here for almost a year now and has been fortunate enough to get a job in the micro-enterprise sector. He is a graduate from the university in Congo but his education was francophone. He is therefore learning English and can teach French to others. Told me about Nairobi where English and French classes take place taught by Congolese, Rwandese and Burundians. (D5).

Discussed the problems of children in his community who have no English language support so they have difficulties being plunged into the Kenyan education system. It appears there are all sorts of English support groups but none for EAL learners in schools. (D5)

This would paint a gloomy picture for the refugee that comes in without knowledge of English and has to struggle on his own to learn. However, not all follow the laid down rules and, in fact, most of them devise survival trickery to get that which they want. For instance, schoolboys are not allowed into the KAELP Advanced Class but they often manage to join under false pretences. The

Windle monthly reports below show some of the methods devised by keen learners:

Since the class [Community Leaders' Course] commenced there has been a considerable number of intruders, mainly Sudanese trying to misrepresent those selected, who had taken the test and were not enrolled or just came because they saw a class was in session; such intruders have been required to leave the class but daily checks have to be held to ensure there are no further un-enrolled students present (From Peter Smith, Thursday 31 July 2003, in D6)

Some students depend on **external help, especially from relations abroad or philanthropists** to pursue education in schools outside the camp. There, there are better facilities, and especially for Swahili, opportunities to mingle with Kenyans and get some oral practice. Still, personal effort is highly required for one to be successful in these endeavours. A piece from the profile of one of the teachers tells it all:

Class One: teacher Samuel Wek from Sudan. Educated in camp up to Form Three. **Then was sent money by journalist friend from Holland** and paid his remaining season (forms 3-4) in Kolongolo Secondary school in Kitale. Thus he got to know enough Swahili to make a Swahili teacher in the camp. (D27)

As we can see this teacher, while just but a lad, preferred to use his gift of money to get a proper education rather than to use the money for many needs in the camp.

7.2.1 Institutional support

Agencies working in partnership with the UNHCR try to provide food, clean water and a decent accommodation to make life more bearable in the extremely hot semi-desert conditions. They also emphasise education and use it as a powerful weapon for their campaigns and propaganda. They usually select intelligent and disabled students and sponsor them to schools outside the camp, middle level colleges, as well as to the universities. However, much more help is always needed. We see that the charities working in the camp such as Windle Trust and IRC promote the teaching of English and help establish its supremacy:

When I came here I went to Adult education. They taught me ABCD of English. I also knew how to say 'Good morning' 'Good afternoon'. The Windle Intermediate taught me to fill in sentences. Here [Bor Town School] they teach English, Swahili, and French. You can choose the one you want at Form Two. You can choose between Business studies and French. I chose French in which I do well. (FR, Rw, F).

The language help provided by these agencies goes a long way in helping the students because the syllabus demands that they learn in English. Cummins (2000a, b) distinguishes between developing language proficiency at the level of BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills) and CALP (Cognitive

Academic Language Proficiency). BICS is easier to acquire, as there are contextual clues and cues, the language being contextually supported. CALP, on the other hand is more abstract and removed from context and day-to-day occurrences. It is to be found in academic contexts and as such is not as meaningful or contextualised as BICS. Cummins meant this distinction to be made in the 'socio-cultural context of schooling' (Cummins 2000a: 70). He further explains how it only takes a child between one and two years of exposure to a language to acquire context embedded second language proficiency but can take five to seven years to approach grade norms in academic aspects of English abstract context reduced fluency. Since what is required in the world of academia is often CALP, many children are disadvantaged if contextual support is not provided to cushion them till they can understand CALP on their own and cope in the mainstream education system. In the case of refugees in the camp situation with its lack of basic learning resources, and exposure to much Standard English in use, it would take even longer to acquire CALP. There is an ideological question about provision of English that we discuss in chapter eight. When it comes to practical help then the best should be provided in the circumstances.

JRS also sponsors brilliant students to schools outside the camp. However, they say they cannot sponsor to the really good National or Provincial schools because of limited funds. Their policy is to stretch what is available to as many learners as can be helped. But their sponsored learners still excel even in those situations. Resilience is the word.

From among the refugees we also get those willing to sacrifice and volunteer their time to teach where there is need. This is especially from former students that recognised the urgent need for teachers. I noted this in School four:

The school composition is 1024 yet it is a single stream school! There are twenty teachers, all refugees. Here there are no Kenyan teachers. They therefore use a volunteer to teach Swahili the language that gives many refugees a problem. (D22)

7.3 Summary

In this chapter I have looked at the realities facing refugee learners due to language-in-education policies. I found that some find the learning of language generally difficult, especially if that language is new to them and compulsory. I also found out difficulties with the language system and phonology. I examined some of the errors made by students and their teachers alike. I then looked at macro-societal factors that make it difficult for the students to learn generally and languages in particular. These include: culture conflict, lack of teachers and expertise among the few teachers available, lack of resources, limited opportunity to practise what they learn, as well as overcrowding. Students and teachers also suffer trauma, and there is a lot of absenteeism due to the specific realities of life in the camp.

I also looked at and analysed the approaches used by learners to overcome these difficulties and the responses by institutions. I concluded that more help is needed, wherever possible to enable refugees to access their education properly. Role

models of standard language in use ought to be availed to the refugees in the far removed isolation of the camp. Since even some of their own teachers have had little exposure to this, it is necessary to provide more access to spoken and written models of the standard they are expected to aim for. This is the ideal and they are not really expected to speak like English Native speakers but it is important to have the standard they can aspire to. Nevertheless they should not be coerced into imitating native speakers, as there are emerging a variety of Englishes and their effort should be encouraged, not discouraged.

Donors need to be constantly kept informed of the grim situation and not be left to imagine that things are better than they actually are on the ground. Pastoral education and counselling also need to be strengthened to help deal with causes of absenteeism such as wedding attendances. This problem in the camp is reminiscent of cases where poor parents in countries such as Malawi are sometimes forced to keep their children to help work the farms instead of going to school (see Williams 1996).

Thus, this chapter concludes the findings from the analysed data. The next chapter is a discussion chapter where I look at, and analyse the various ideologies surrounding language-in-education policies and practices and try to find out how to get rid of the disparaging ideologies. In the next chapter, therefore, I discuss the issues arising from the diverse chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT: OVERALL DISCUSSION OF ISSUES

8.0 Introduction

This chapter is a discussion of issues raised in the previous chapters. Most have to do with socio-political ideologies surrounding language policy, attitudes, realities and responses, as well as in the recommendations suggested for improvement. I discuss the issues arising bearing in mind the conceptual frameworks in Phillipson's (1992, 1999) *Linguistic Imperialism* and Cummins' (2000) *Transformative Pedagogy* theory, the fiery arguments in Canagarajah (1999) and Pennycook (1998), as well as the practical versus conceptual compromises suggested in Kachru (1983, 1994). I start off by revisiting the findings of the study as encapsulated in the previous chapters.

8.1 Realities and Responses

We found out that the multilingual refugee learners in their context face a vast number of difficult realities that make their learning a challenge. They have to deal with a language policy that might suit the host country but which makes their linguistic experiences dire, especially if they are from a different linguistic background. For instance, the refugees in Kakuma have to follow the syllabus that decrees that English be used as medium of instruction right from Standard Four except for periods for language subjects such as French or Swahili. Before Standard Four mother tongues are supposed to be used in rural settings and Swahili in urban and multicultural areas. In practice, however, many teachers are zealous in ensuring as much English as possible is used with the belief that the

more the learners are exposed to the language, the faster they learn it. So some schools flout the government's policy and introduce instruction in English right from Standard One when the child starts school.

Thus, refugees that join camp schools in classes One to Three are supposed to be instructed in Swahili, as camps are multicultural areas. Or, if there is a majority of pupils in a school speaking a common mother tongue, such as Dinka, then that is supposed to be used. The trouble is that there are other children whose mother tongue may not be Dinka and these would be completely lost were the teacher to follow the majority and use Dinka. Furthermore the teacher may not know the mother tongue of the pupils since teachers are from a variety of linguistic backgrounds, including Kenyans. This is a real challenge the young learner has to face the instant s/he joins Class One to Three as it is, presumably to the policy makers and teachers. The refugee system is adopted wholesale from the Kenyan one that has a very high dropout rate. As of 2001 over 50% of children that started school in Kenya dropped out before they completed primary education (See Bunyi 2005). The government blames poverty (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, Ministry of Finance, 2001) for these and now free primary education has been introduced. However, Bunyi (2005:148) argues that language practices [discussed in her paper and similar to what I have described about Kakuma] play a considerable role in 'pushing marginalised children out of school...they are likely to intellectually disengage from their lessons and subsequently drift out of school'.

As for those joining Class Four to secondary schools the allowed language is English. As we saw in chapters five and six speaking any other language is an

offence, whose sentence is sometimes corporal punishment. Thus, we find that language becomes a great impediment to the education of many a refugee learner. Whatever language background the refugees have come from (and they do come from a variety of backgrounds; some have never had to be instructed in English before and have only a rudimentary knowledge of the language) they have to learn in English. Concepts that could easily be learnt in their mother tongues or in a community language they understand become almost inaccessible when presented in a new and foreign language. Bearing in mind some of the teaching methodology used, there is really room for improvement. Williams (1996) points out how meaning is hardly ever explained to children reading English in some African schools. There is a repetition reminiscent of language drills (an old feature of traditional pedagogy) so despised nowadays. Bunyi (2005) also reports of this teaching methodology in a rural Kenyan School. In the camp I observed several classes where the teacher would write the words to be read on the blackboard. S/he would read aloud and ask pupils to 'repeat after me'. A pupil would be picked out of many anxious volunteers calling out 'Teacher! Teacher!' The lucky volunteer would then take the big blackboard ruler or long stick) in the absence of a ruler, and read out again. The class would clap for him/her and another would be called to repeat the exercise. The teachers made little effort to explain what the meanings were.

Bunyi (2005:148) hypothesises that these language practices are a direct influence of the teacher training programmes that do not develop the teacher's classroom interaction skills as well as of the history of education in Kenya. Missionaries largely conducted early education in Kenya with a mission to evangelise Africans.

A central part of the curriculum was the learning of Christian literature such as catechism that had to be committed to memory especially before one was baptised. She suggests that this could be the origin of the necessity of teachers to engage the learners in repetition of texts.

Whether this is true or not the effect remains the same and a lot of school children are involved in meaningless repetition with little understanding of what they are reading. Williams (1993:24) still considers it as a process of ‘barking at print’ [at ‘blackboard’ I might say, seeing that the print is in short supply] and recommends that this should change to where reading is viewed as a ‘process of obtaining information and as an opportunity to be communicated with rather than a process of parroting the book or the teacher’ (1993a: 24). A different view to this is expressed by Wright (2001) who regards it as a case of ‘making the best of a bad situation’. She cautions those observing the classroom practices for whatever reason not to condemn what is going on using their own yardsticks. Having been a victim of such prejudgements before her ethnographic stay at some schools in Eritrea, she recommends that those observing such classes consider the stringent resources that teachers have to work in. Indeed, she commends them for managing at all in such circumstances. Nevertheless, I agree that all opinions be expressed so that those who are in a position to make amendments do so, yet without appearing to blame the teachers for not meeting their standards.

Neither are there classroom assistants or EAL support teachers to help those who do not comprehend the language but they have to struggle on their own, seeking help from other students. The result is that many dig deep into their dwindling

pockets and scratch out the little that remains to pay for private tuition in private schools set up by knowing entrepreneurs. Others postpone school education until they have had some tuition in Adult Education classes provided by IRC or if they are lucky enough secure a place in the coveted but oversubscribed Windle Trust English Language courses. Here they may face further restrictions especially if they are male as only girls are allowed to join those classes if they are in the mainstream education. The result is that much wastage occurs as some give up altogether and stay home, in spite of having previously made considerable progress in education using different languages.

There is also wastage of time as many try to learn English first before venturing into mainstream education. Further, there is also much wastage of time, as many learners have to go back to lower levels, as they do not understand language. Some told me they had to go back to primary school because of English and more so Swahili, even though they had been in secondary education in their countries. Language policy is a reality that bears many consequences for the refugee learner.

What do others say about such a policy? According to Cummins (2000a, b) all should be done to enable the learner to understand the concepts they are learning and then it will be easier to transfer this knowledge to the new language being learnt. Teaching in the children's mother tongues at least for the first few years is recommended, though Cummins argues that there should not be a quick withdrawal from mother tongue instruction into English medium. He avers that it takes around five to seven years for the new language to be properly understood to the level where it can be used in education instruction. Also, the mother tongue

should not then be dropped out of the curriculum but should continue being offered as a subject. A successful case he quotes is where Finnish children were performing so poorly in Swedish education that a similar approach had to be taken with fantastic results. Finnish was used exclusively for the first two years then Swedish introduced as a subject in the third year. In subsequent years Swedish took over as medium of instruction but Finnish continued to be taught as a subject. At Grade 6 the children were at the standard level in both languages better than if they had been immersed in Swedish straight away. (See Cummins 2000a). Though some of the refugee learners are not very young this practice could prove beneficial in principle.

It is also a shame that poor refugees should spend their money on private tuition. It reminds one of the arguments in Pennycook (1998) that the English Language Teaching project is a furtherance of American imperialism. Whether in the camp or elsewhere parents and guardians spend a fortune on English Language learning so it is good business. A running theme in Brock-Utne's work (2002, 2006) is about how foreign donors impose conditions on recipient countries, making them dependent on their languages in the process, benefiting publishers of textbooks and producers of other learning resources. Perhaps Brock-Utne would regard this spending by refugees as a microcosm of the larger picture?

In fact, Pennycook castigates even those volunteering and spending huge amounts on ELT such as the British Council and various charities, casting aspersions on their 'hidden agendas'. He commends a lot in the study in Holliday (1994) which cautions against applying methods suitable in the West to countries all over the

world. Nevertheless, he still questions the motive behind the whole programme. As far as he is concerned what Holliday (1994) is about is how to make it easier to teach English to the Other so as to wield power over them. By encouraging appropriate methods of ELT the whole programme helps publishers, educationists and other interested parties to really hit their targets and ensure English continues to reign supreme in the world. Extreme though those views may be there is still a lingering question about why aid agencies appear only ready to offer English language support, and do not seem to care one bit about Swahili or other languages. The only and very little support for mother tongue education is given by a group of churches working with the Summer Institute of Linguistics with the aim of teaching refugees how to read the Bible.

8.2 Attitudes

Next, I analyse the attitudes the learners have towards the policy and practice surrounding the use of language in their education. We saw in chapters five and six the positive and negative attitudes to language use in their education so I will not repeat them here. In summary it would appear that there is great ambivalence towards the use of English in their education. Whereas it gives many a hard time and costs time and money to learn it it is still much preferred by many learners. They are prepared to go to great lengths to ensure they learn and acquire this all-important international language. Most refugee learners are very busy trying to survive, and as matters stand without adequate knowledge of English it is hard to make any progress. They are too busy learning English to bother with language politics. It is only in several instances that a few let slip their aversion to this

imposition of new languages when many had already made progress using other languages.

For those concerned with linguistic human rights (Phillipson 2005, Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2001) it seems there is hard work required to persuade these learners that they should not be letting English dominate their mother tongues and instead they should be fighting to promote their mother tongues even in education. Whereas no doubt they have fondness for their mother tongues, it appears that they set limits for where they are to be used. Both parents and pupils seemed to be of the opinion that speaking mother tongues in schools wastes precious time that should be used in putting English to practice. This 'maximum exposure fallacy' has been attacked by Phillipson (1999) but still persists, apparently unabated especially in the USA and UK where the studies have been known for decades.

Yet we do not shut out the few voices that raised concern over these same questions. The advantage of using qualitative versus quantitative methods to examine such a question is that we are not solely concerned with what the majority think or say. We *do* listen to what the minority think or say. We are not interested in significance or degrees of freedom. We give due recognition to the voices of those who cried out for their suppressed mother tongues and longed for opportunities to use them in education and 'be the first to teach' them if offered the opportunity. Similarly there were those who decried the dominance of English over their languages and bewailed the fact that learning English had led to a decline in their competency in their mother tongues and national languages. To these voices we refer the work being done to protect heritage languages all over

the world as well as those fighting the imperialism of English and its killing weaker languages as they are all exposed to the linguistic free market. Much of the literature in the appended bibliography (e.g. Neville 2000, Baker, 2001, Bamgbose 2005, Crawford 1995, Cummins 2000a, Hornberger, 2003a, Makoni & Kamwangamalu 2000) argues for the protection and preservation of all languages to ensure they are not overgrown by larger parasitic languages but that the beauty and variety of diverse flowers be maintained in the linguistic botanical garden. (See Baker 2000).

8.3 Extra-linguistic factors and ideologies

Our next discussion is on stifling ideologies and discourses propagating them. The extra-linguistic factors shaping the attitudes of the refugee learners have been presented in chapter seven. Here, I am interested in understanding how these attitudes are shaped by factors sometimes not overtly related to education. I am, therefore going to focus our discussion on ideologies surrounding language in education and how related discourses have been and are shaped by them.

Ideologies are the beliefs so held that they appear ‘commonsense’ to many irrespective of the facts based on scientific research (Tollefson 1991). For instance the issue of immersion into a new language being learnt appears ‘common sense’ and is hard to eradicate from people’s minds as it appears reasonable that if one is learning a new language then they need to be immersed into it and they will understand as they go ahead. Much research has challenged this and shown that it is more realistic to let the learner understand what he/she is being taught by using their language to explain concepts in the new language. On the basis of Cummins’

(2000) Transformative Pedagogy theory it is arguable that learners should be first taught concepts they can understand; it is, therefore, necessary that it is explained to them in a language they are familiar with. The Immersion ideology is one of the commonest ideologies that I will be examining in this chapter. The other ideologies are mainly those concerning the following:

- Speaking mother tongues interferes with the learning of a second language and as such must be discouraged at all costs-should this be the case?
- Native speaker fallacy-commonly applied to English and Swahili. Are the refugees learning ‘proper’ English if they are not being taught by a native speaker of the language? What comprises a native speaker? If one has been speaking English since childhood, as is the case in many cities in former British colonies, are these ‘native’ speakers?
- Standard language fallacy –is there a variety of English and Swahili that is superior to other varieties? Are the other dialects of Swahili apart from *Kiunguja* ‘wrong’? Who decides this and is it a fact or canard?

Ideologies are reflected in all aspects of language in education. They are mirrored in the policy, practices, attitudes, realities and responses and even the recommendations for improvement. I start off with ideologies echoed in the policies of language in education in Kakuma.

8.3.0 Ideologies in language policy

The language policy in the camp schools is based on the Kenyan one, a relic of colonialism. It is typical of what Bamgbose (1991) refers to as “the Do-Nothing-Policy”, whereby the stated or declared policy is left to fight for its own

implementation. As in the case of a bantamweight boxer being mismatched with a heavyweight, the African languages are left to fight it out for survival with heavyweight champion, English. The language of instruction in all schools is English from Class Four to university. Before Class four mother tongues are supposed to be used in rural areas and Swahili in urban or multilingual areas. This policy assumes the superiority of English over all other languages, of which there are forty-two recognised in Kenya. As a refugee learner discovered when she joined a Kenyan school:

‘They used to laugh at me because I did not know English...They wondered why I could not speak English and they could ask me what part of the world I come from. Because in Kenya even nursery school children could speak English better than what I did’ (FM, Sud, F)

The rationale for choosing English over, say, Swahili is for ‘international communication’. Kenya is a former British colony and since the British Empire was vast, spreading across almost all continents of the world the colonial offices needed to train workers in the English language. Before handing over power back to the independent countries, the colonial powers had to ensure there were trained leaders ready to converse in English and communicate with London. Pennycook (1998) castigates this policy and points out that the purpose of teaching English to the ‘natives’ was for easier colonial administration –to make it easier for the colonialists to wield power over the colonised, so it will always have a ring of

colonialism around it. The methods used were often crude, with severe canings for mistakes made, or for speaking any other language other than English. The syllabi were extremely British with African children being made to cram Shakespeare and even study works that portrayed 'natives' in derogatory terms (Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, 1986). The leaders of the independent nations inherited and maintained these policies with the pretext of choosing a language that would unite the different 'tribes' but with the hidden agenda of maintaining a privileged English speaking elite that continued into neo-colonialism- what Phillipson (1992) refers to as 'linguicism':

Ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources, (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (1992:47)

Thus, by maintaining the colonial language policy, those that had had the privilege of learning in better schools and now ran the government no longer wanted complete 'liberation' but held onto the power that speaking English granted them. They could separate themselves from the masses that did not know English properly for various reasons, especially poverty, hence lack of school fees. They earned huge salaries and virtually took over the houses and offices left by colonial administrators. This is just what the colonial masters had done. Let's refer back to the quote in Pennycook (1998):

Policies about providing or withholding an education in English were not simple questions to do with 'medium of instruction'... To some, provision of limited

English was a pragmatic policy to facilitate colonial rule, to others provision of English was an essential part of the messianic spread of British language and culture. To some, provision of vernacular education was a colonial obligation; to others it was a colonial tool in the development of a workforce able to participate in colonial capitalism; to others it was an important means to maintain the status quo. A study of policies around English language education, therefore, can give important insights into the more general operation of colonialism. Such an understanding also has considerable significance for understanding current language policies'. (Pennycook 1998:20-21)

From this extract, therefore it would appear that I should not only be talking about what is the best 'medium of instruction' in which to educate the refugees but delve beneath the skin and uncover underlying ideologies. By embracing the colonial-oriented Kenyan language-in-education policy, refugee education is supposedly helping to propagate ideologies with roots in colonialism. First of all, the fact that English is given pre-eminence among languages helps continue the 'messianic spread of empire' at an ideological level.

Since the power focus has changed to the USA now, however, it would appear to be spreading American imperialism more than British Empire even though British charities are busy teaching there and insisting on the refugees learning the 'proper' English. This might indeed be true as many refugees aim to learn English so as to get resettled in the USA. Indeed without passing the TOEFL there is little chance of further development in their higher education studies. To sum up, this is also the point made by Phillipson (1992) in the chapter he calls 'colonial linguistic

inheritance'. He avers that 'colonial linguistic ideologies laid a foundation for the maintenance of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages in the post-colonial age' (Phillipson, 1992:123). Pennycook (1998) therefore insists that 'colonialism should not be seen as a forgotten era in the past but rather as the context in which current ideas were framed (Pennycook 1998: 23) and in his book he tries

To map out the discourses of colonialism as they relate to English and then to trace these genealogically into the present. ...an attempt to map out cultural and discursive frames that influence our lives.' (*Op cit*: 27)

But is ELT nothing but a furtherance of neo-colonialism? We have seen how many refugees insist on learning the language in spite of great difficulties. What Canagarajah (1999) would argue would be more of appropriation and practicalities. If you cannot beat them, join them, it would appear. Since English has gained so much status and is indeed a practical and useful language to know, refugees prefer to learn it at whatever cost. However, not many are too concerned with speaking it perfectly but just to know how to communicate. This was especially seen in the case of the dropout schoolgirls. Once they knew how to read and write well enough to write to their husbands without going through a third party, they dropped out of school again to the dismay of feminists determined to make great professional women out of them.

8.3.1 Ideologies in practice

Even though the Kenyan policy adopted in the camp clearly states that mother tongues be used in the first three years of primary education, many parents prefer this not to be followed. To them schools that flout this rule and teach English right from Class One are better as ‘children speak English’. The assumption here is still that immersion is the best policy and that speaking mother tongues delays or hampers the learning of English. All these are but ideologies. As we saw in chapter 5 a private school in the Kakuma Shopping Centre that teaches in English from Class One is praised as it results in even little children speaking English. This is considered a mark of good education. In spite of many hardships, I found some refugees struggling to save their meagre resources so as to send their children to this school. The camp being located outside the shopping centre, in fact, they have to spend more money on ‘Border-Border’ (commercial bicycle taxis) to transport these children to this school and lunch expenses. It is a great cost many can ill afford. But since there is such a belief in getting the best education, (assessed by how fast and how well a child can speak English) if children are to make it in life, the parents feel the need to make the great sacrifice. The camp schools on the other hand offer free education but are riddled with shortages.

Even the Adult education programme is more about teaching English than anything else. We cannot really blame those offering support in this way since refugees do benefit a lot once they learn English. Their lives change for the better as most can get employment with the agencies and thus utilise their skills and

talents. It is also important for them to know English as it is the official language of Kenya and thus very important in education. Indeed, one is not considered educated unless one can speak English properly. On deeper examination, however, the warning in Tollefson, 1991 comes to mind:

The policy of requiring everyone to learn a single dominant language is widely seen as a commonsense solution to the communication problems of multilingual societies. The appeal of this assumption is such that monolingualism is seen as a solution to linguistic inequality. If linguistic minorities learn the dominant language, so the argument goes, then they will not suffer economic and social inequality. This assumption is an example of an *ideology*, which refers to normally unconscious assumptions that come to be seen as commonsense...such assumptions justify exclusionary policies and sustain inequality. (P10)

Those who spend all their savings to give their children a 'good' education do not always end up reaping economic benefits. In the camp I came across some refugees with very good education even up to Masters level but just idling around in the camp with much frustration. In Kenyan towns you often hear a ragged tout speaking English too lest anyone assume that his misery and abject poverty has anything to do with lack of 'education'. The issues of power are very complicated as one finds many extraneous reasons why a relatively uneducated person holds a big office whereas a fellow with a Masters degree cannot feed himself let alone his family. In fact, it has led to much disgruntlement among the current youth who dare question the ideology of 'work hard and get good grades especially in Maths

and English and you will have a bright future'. No wonder Pennycook presents the scenario where

We are presented with the double edged sword of needing to learn English, not so much for social and economic advantage- as we know, such advantages will be denied anyway- but rather as in order to understand better how one is being... defined' (Pennycook 1998:216)

8.3.2 Ideologies in the attitudes

Many of the attitudes expressed to language use in education reflect deep-seated beliefs about the value of learning a mother tongue versus English. I was asked to adjudicate nursery school competitions during a public holiday but declined the offer so I could use the opportunity to do some observations for my thesis data. Different nursery schools competed in reciting poems, in drama, song and dance, and marks would be awarded for each performance. I noticed that when a presentation was in English there was a loud applause from the audience even though it appeared the children merely crammed some bombastic sounding words, little understanding their meanings. Personally, I rather enjoyed the traditional dances and songs in their own languages but these received less of an ovation. The performance in Arabic was almost literally booed down, much to my perplexity, but this may be explained away in that the audience was of mixed nationalities and not only Sudanese. The attitudes reflected the clear view that parents and guardians link school to English and expect to see and hear demonstrated as much English as possible even in little kindergarten children.

One point we need to consider is that if we put our ideologies aside for a minute and regard what research in the area has found we might notice that 'bilingualism is associated with enhanced linguistic, cognitive and academic development when both languages are encouraged to develop'. (Cummins 2000a:4). Instead of making little kindergarten children cram long big-sounding words just to impress an audience it would make more sense for them to sing in a language they understand and enjoy what they are performing. As they learn English starting from simple words in context then they can move up to more abstract things when they have more comprehension.

However, outlooks favouring immersion are really hard to eradicate.

8.3.2.1 Foreign based tests

A lot of money, time and effort is also spent to give refugees practice for TOEFL in order to enable them get admission in the WUSC programmes in Canada, or other universities around the world. TOEFL scores are also used to eliminate candidates when short-listing for local Kenyan universities. However, does anyone question the validity of TOEFL in assessing admission to Kenyan universities? The whole exam is so American oriented that it beats logic to be using it for testing candidates for local universities. The one instance I found of someone questioning this was one British philanthropist who insisted that the selection process for the scholarships she had worked so hard to secure be redone. She was completely dissatisfied with the TOEFL requirement that had been considered so important by the previous selection panel. She insisted that so long as one qualified academically for a university or college education, qualities such

as leadership potential, initiative, probability of returning to develop home country among others were more important for her awardees than excellent scores in TOEFL.

When we redid the interviews and disregarded TOEFL scores we gave a scholarship to a male Sudanese student to pursue a Nursing diploma. I tried to persuade him to aim to be a doctor as his results were really amazing but he had a certain male nurse mentor whose work in the war- torn region he admired and that was whom he wanted to emulate. I was told ‘if that is what he wants let him get it. Why are you trying to persuade him for more?’ I wondered if this was lack of ambition or merely realistic expectations? Training for a doctor takes too long and there is urgent need. When we consider what his needs, aspirations and motivations are then we see how futile is the requirement for good TOEFL marks. This was standing in the way of a well-focussed young man with the heart to serve a suffering people in Southern Sudan. It goes to show how much wastage is caused by the insistence on standards in English that are not of any immediate use so long as one can understand enough English to communicate!

As I noted in chapter three, the practices of using tests based on western individuals with western cultural assumptions on people from other cultural orientations have been ongoing for many years yet they demonstrate prejudice against those from different cultures. (See Baker and Hornberger, 2001)

8.3.2.2 Standard Languages

Standardization is an on-going process whose desired goal is the promotion of invariance or uniformity in language structure (Milroy 2001:531). While the standard variety is often the prestige variety, prestige is essentially an attribute of speakers while uniformity is a property of the language system, and it is via metonymic association that the variety spoken by prestigious individuals comes to be seen as the standard (Milroy 2001:532). Once one variety is treated as the standard, the other varieties by implication, are non-standard, and, consequently, less prestigious. 'In these conceptualisations, the dialects become, as it were, satellites that have orbits at various distances around a central body- the standard (Milroy 2001:534). (See also Wee, 2005:53)

Standardisation is often sought with good intention but often leads to ideologies whereby the chosen variety becomes unduly privileged over others. It then leads to complications whenever a student uses the non-prestige variety, especially in written work. Writers have used their poetic licence to promote non-prestige varieties or to make a point against these ideologies. However, it is often a hard struggle against majority forces.

In the camp the problem that arises is mainly with which variety of Swahili to use. The Congolese in the camp use their dialect, known as Kingwana but that is often frowned upon as being 'wrong' since it is 'non-standard'. This leads to some Swahili teachers considering this a major setback in their teaching. It also leads to some students feeling that Swahili is, therefore, hard, because whenever they try to speak it or write it down, their variety is laughed down or they are quickly

‘corrected’. This also leads to some form of inferiority complex. Yet the choosing of the Kiunguja (Zanzibar) variety as the Standard Swahili was merely a matter of convenience and did not mean that the other dialects are of a lesser quality or value.

There were also cases whereby some things could not be properly translated into the English language from vernaculars without altering the meanings. My students argued with me over this point and it got me to thinking- ‘must we adhere to the Standard English even where it cannot express what is expressed in other languages, or may we take the liberty to adapt the language to saying what we need to?’ Here I call to mind the arguments in Canagarajah (1999). He argues that there is no longer need to fight off the spread of English as that is now a given. Instead each community adapts it for its use according to its needs. This is already the case whereby we now have a situation of different ‘Englishes,’ many regionally based (Kachru 1994). These varieties are generally understood across the world but contain some local terms one has to learn as they learn the idiom of the particular ‘English’. Here, my students would be able to talk of ‘one of my bad lucks is to be away from my beloved country’ without me frowning at them and jumping to correct them much to their displeasure.

8.3.3 Ideologies in realities and responses

I decided to include this part because of an experience I had when helping a university student prepare for his literature exams. As literature was one of my undergraduate subjects I agreed to squeeze my tight schedule and offer whatever aid I could. However, I was forced to record my puzzlement over the ideologies

expressed in the students' course book and workbook developed by the university for the distance-learning students:

Yesterday I agreed to help my Congolese Christian Brother David with his UNISA African Literature unit.... *It is so annoying the way they keep referring to 'Africa and South Africa'.* (D12-13)

Some refugees enrol for university education by correspondence in UNISA (University of South Africa) and thus encounter ideologies carried over from apartheid times. There is a careful division of sections in the exam and one has to choose some literature books from 'Africa' and others from 'South Africa'. So what makes 'Africa' and what makes 'South Africa'? Is it because South Africa is so advanced economically compared to the rest of Africa that they now feel they are no longer Africans? It reminds me of a more direct reference someone made of his understanding of what 'Africa' means: 'Africa, South of the Sahara and North of the Limpopo!' However, these ideologies are so deep-seated that even a friend of mine was surprised when he tried to phone a friend in South Africa only to be told 'he has gone to Africa' (Zimbabwe)!

From here I can deduce that even the learning materials used in refugee language education can reflect biases not apparent to some because they have become ideologies. It behoves education planners to choose learning materials that are free from bias. If someone decides to offer some assistance to refugees they should make sure they have filtered them of prejudice so as not to further propagate negative discourses.

8.3.3.0 Charities and Aid Agencies

Aid agencies and charities such as The Windle Trust offer well-meaning support in English Language. They spend plenty of money to ensure the refugees improve their English skills so as to enable them get employment, further their education or simply communicate with more people. However, even the support offered to refugees towards their language education unearths some deep-seated ideologies. With the exception of a few church-based Christian groups that offer help with mother tongues to enable refugees to read the Bible, no support is offered by them to improve one's mother tongues or even Swahili, which is a compulsory language in education. What does this tell us about the status and value of languages? For this I review what I said was a rather extreme view by Pennycook, 1998 who argues that the legendary figure:

Crusoe's assumption of mastery over Friday and his immediate start on the project of teaching Friday English (rather than, for example, learning Friday's language), are iconic moments in the long history of the global spread of English. This is a significant observation and it is perhaps always worth asking ourselves as English teachers to what extent we are following in Crusoe's footsteps. (P11)

As a volunteer teacher of English I did think about this caution and hope I am not following in Robinson Crusoe's footsteps. As a matter of fact very few of us ever consider the work of teaching English as anything but a duty to be performed well. It must be the same with well-meaning donors pouring their millions into refugee English language education. It is significant, though, that the founder of

Windle Trust himself took the trouble to learn Ethiopian languages as he taught English to the young Ethiopian refugees he first encountered. But the very definition of 'ideology' is that something becomes so commonplace no one gives much thought to it. Also, one may feel like facing up to a huge giant and wonder how one's futile efforts against these strong beliefs would ever suffice. As a Sudanese Reverend pointed (FG4) out the struggles the learners face in learning English are disregarded, as it appears the way forward in this present world. It is assumed that all that is needed is more hard work.

8.3.3.1 Teachers' responses

In this section I see how teachers adapt to their situation to make learning possible in challenging circumstances. The teachers have to use the required language irrespective of their confidence in it because all the material support in the mainstream schools seems to be directed towards English. The Reverend pointed out some of the reasons for this choice:

The New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) has developed school materials using Kenyan syllabus and are supplying them to Southern Sudan because 3-5 year olds, even villagers speak English. We have never heard any complaint. People may be having difficulties but have no alternative- schools for all, since English is worldwide- more are putting effort to make sure they have learnt it well. (Rev Tom, in FG4).

No language is useless though. Even Israel is teaching Arabic in their own schools even in universities. We are most happy learning Arabic even in university. We are not to completely kill it. We also need to use it to a certain level even if only talking about the Nile water. We need to understand each other. Even the Arab world is also getting power. Beyond

peace- perhaps Sudan will be the bridge between Africa and the Arab world. (FG4).

The classroom observations of language-in-education yielded results quite unlike what one would see in a school in London. This is because of a myriad of circumstances, most structural and the rest to do with lack of adequate physical facilities. However, some are just basically culturally oriented. The much-proclaimed learner-centred learning did not make much sense with such a shortage of books and research facilities. Thus much of the work had to be done by teachers. Yet, there was pressure on the teachers to try and demonstrate awareness of the current trends in language education. So what do we end up with? Could it be a case of teachers appropriating the method to carry out a balance? Most of the student participation included calling a child to the front, handing him/her a stick or the board ruler and having them read out aloud the words written on the board as the other pupils repeated what was being shouted. If a mistake were recognised as having been made the class would burst in a roar of laughter sometimes causing the 'offender' to join in or dissolve into tears of embarrassment. Educationists have condemned this kind of rote learning but the setting has always to be considered. Also in some cultures, learning is not seen as occurring properly unless 'serious, concrete' work is seen to be being done. They are not yet used to abstractions and 'fun' in learning. (Tsui 2005)⁷.

⁷ Tsui (2005) for instance talks about how Chinese children did not feel comfortable with a teacher trying to be informal and encouraging students to show analytic strategies. They appeared to prefer a serious-looking teacher full of authority and teaching new things. The same can be said of many African education systems. The teacher is regarded, as having authority and knowledge and his duty is to disburse it to eager learners who try to write down as much as they can. Rote learning is considered usual practice.

The teachers in Kakuma have appropriated the methods available and adapted them to their learning. They realise sometimes they may need to translate as they go along or else risk talking to themselves with no one comprehending. I have seen how some Swahili teachers have tried to even write everything on the board before the lesson begins because they need to explain almost every word. I have also seen them devising methods of marking work for huge classes. It is such a hard job they have to do that it would be ridiculous to walk in with an observation chart looking for how learner centred learning was taking place. They have had to appropriate methods and improvise where necessary, to achieve results. Thus, it would appear that they are failing to follow the current recommended teaching strategies yet it is the hard realities facing the classroom situation that requires them to make do with what little they have. This reminds me of what I saw in chapter four about what a researcher discovered in Eritrea:

In much the same way that non standard forms of a language are viewed by many as deficient, as failure to achieve (Labov 1972), interpretations of classroom methodology which differ from what is expected may then be taken as teachers' failure to comprehend and implement the curriculum. I would contend, however, that in fact, rather than *failing to understand*, the teachers may instead be *choosing to interpret* the L2 curriculum in their own ways, and that these choices are based on their own concerns about what is best for the students, what is possible given the constraints of their material circumstances, their beliefs about the students and their families, and in some cases awareness of their own capabilities and limitations as teachers...A few researchers, however, such as Street and Wagner, have brought to scholarly attention the variety of literacy practices which can be found in the developing world, emphasising the value of indigenous practices as *resources*, rather than seeing them as *problems* to be fixed,

impediments to modernisation which need to be eradicated (Wright 2001: 62-63).

8.3.4 Ideologies in the recommendations

Student teachers suggested that learners should be caned 'or else they will speak Dinka'. This recommendation shows an underlying ideology that Dinka is less important than English. It is believed that practice makes perfect and thus the time 'wasted' speaking Dinka should be going into English practice. What these teachers do not realise is that they are carrying on with a tradition which began in colonial times whereby learners were punished for speaking their mother tongues. Mother tongues were thus denigrated such that even their own speakers believe they should not be heard near a school. I myself have been a perpetrator of this ideology in my early teaching career. When I was teaching in a secondary school in Kenya the English department began a move OSP (Operation Speak English) to get students to speak only English in school in the hope that we might improve performance in the subject. There was a book passing round that you gave to anyone you heard speaking any other language but English. At the end of the day all those whose names were written in the book got punished for it. It is now a shame to me as I have become aware of Phillipson's (1999) 'Maximum exposure fallacy', but goes to show how deep rooted these practices are:

Before we start to think of resistance, opposition, counter-discourse, change, we need to consider very carefully the limited possibilities. ..The power and the fixity of the discourses of colonialism as they adhere to English are very great ... but we do need to find ways of changing these relationships if the cultural constructs of colonialism are not to be

constantly replayed through English and English Language teaching.
(Pennycook 1998: 214).

The Sudanese elders also suggested that boarding schools be erected in the camp. These would prevent students from melting back into the community after school and thus provide them with a good opportunity to speak English. These recommendations, thus, also show the underlying fear of the mother tongue. It is ironical therefore, that research actually suggests that speaking mother tongues does not hinder the learning of L2. On the contrary, being literate in the mother tongue helps one-grasp concepts easier. One can, therefore, learn a new language faster (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006c; Cummins 2000a).

8.4 Summary

In this chapter I have taken a closer look at issues that arose in previous chapters. I have examined other approaches to deal with these realities concerning the language experiences of multilingual refugee children in the camp and tried to discuss them in the light of current relevant theories. I paid more attention to ideologies since these are at the heart of policy, practice, attitudes, realities and responses. I thus analysed ideologies found in the manifestations of responses to realities and in the attitudes of refugees as well as their teachers, parents and educationists. I delved into extra-linguistic and extracurricular influences and the ideologies they propagate, particularly in the form of language policy and actual practice.

Next, I ventured into foreign-based tests and standardisation of languages, highlighting the ideologies hidden therein. Then I re-examined Charities and Aid

Agencies and their well meant but ideologically skewed efforts to spread English to refugees. I noted that even the recommendations for the way forward reflected underlying biases towards some languages.

All these then show me that language policies are riddled with deep-seated ideologies hard to eradicate. I found that most of the ideologies are actually unbeknown to their perpetrators. Discourses surrounding these are so extensive, that one does not seem to realise that the very way things are done reflects power relations in languages. Indeed, some are so 'common-sense' that one would meet with great opposition trying to convince people otherwise. Thus, it is important to create awareness of these so that at least those dealing with these situations have the power of information and can thus make well-informed choices.

CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

9.0 Summary

This thesis is a look at language experiences in the education of multilingual refugee children in Kakuma camp in northern Kenya. The aim was to establish what the policy and practice are, attitudes towards these policies and practices, the socio-political influences on attitudes and the realities the refugee learner faces as a result of the language-in-education policy and their responses. I wanted to contribute to literature on refugee language learning experiences so as to contribute towards development of a coherent theory on language in education. I started off by introducing the study and the setting- Kakuma camp in Turkana District, Rift Valley Province in Northern Kenya. The camp is run by the UNHCR in partnership with various partner agencies each charged with certain responsibilities such as feeding (World Vision), Health, Water and Sanitation (IRC), Environmental management (GTZ), Education (LWF/DWS), English Language Teaching (Windle Trust), among others. I said that around 80,000 refugees inhabit Kakuma camp. It is divided into Kakuma I, II and III and each has Zones for administrative ease.

In this introductory chapter I also launched the actual study itself. The study investigated the language experiences in the education of multilingual refugee children with a view to establishing the realities the learners encountered and how they dealt with them. It sought to determine the attitudes of the multilingual refugee learners towards the language use in their education, and to discuss the socio-political factors and embedded ideologies that appeared to influence them.

It sought to posit recommendations that could lead to a more beneficial theory of language pedagogy in multilingual situations and hence to more productive conventions. I justified the study as giving the learners a chance to voice their opinions on language and education issues that directly affect them. In so doing I am able to contribute to the theoretical context whereby I seek to establish the interaction of language-in-education and the refugees' context that is unstable and transitory. I note that it is important to consider the circumstances of refugees when planning language policy for them. Some are only in the camps for a short stay and it is impracticable to ignore their prior knowledge in the form of languages and expect them to start off afresh in new languages. Yet for some the stay has already been 14 years and they have no prospects of, or interest in repatriating. Cummins (2000a) has argued that it takes new learners around five to seven years to develop competency that can allow them access education properly. For the case of the refugees this can take longer as their environment is complex. These suggestions would contribute insights into the particular issues relating to refugee language-in-education. This can develop further from Cummins' (2000a) Transformative Pedagogy that incorporates diverse influences on education of children in underprivileged contexts. Yet, having said so, I notice the ambivalent feelings of many of the refugees towards these new languages. These attitudes are influenced by strong discourses portraying ideologies hard to eradicate. I recommend that a balance should be drawn so as to allow them to learn the desired new languages while being able to continue learning in a language through which they can grasp concepts meaningfully.

Chapter Two is a review of related literature. I reviewed literature to do with Phillipson's (1992, 1999) linguisticism and those that hold similar views, especially Pennycook (1998), Canagarajah (1999), Holliday (1994), and a host of postcolonial African and Asian writers such as Owino (2002), Muthwii (2002) and Webb (2003). I also looked at opposing views, such as Spolsky (2004) who argues that there is no such thing as linguisticism but instead those following this trend are engaging in 'linguacentricism'. Literature on refugee education and the realities facing them was also reviewed (Coelho 1994). Finally I looked at language literacy methodology reviewing the work of Street (2000) and others that urge a re-evaluation of how I view literacy.

Chapter three is the theoretical framework featuring Phillipson's (1992, 1999) Linguistic Imperialism, Cummins (2000) Transformative Pedagogy theory, and Kachru's (1994) World Englishes. I chose Cummins' theory because its concerns about providing appropriate linguistic context and power for the bilingual learner are relevant to our main aim. Cummins argues that whereas it takes only one to two years to develop BICS one needs between five and seven years to have developed enough CALP to study in the new language. Edelsky (1983, 1990) and Wiley (1996) are among those that have critiqued Cummins' theory in its developmental stages but he has refined it to cater for important issues raised and I have also reviewed his response to the criticisms.

Phillipson (1992, 1999) perceives linguistic imperialism as a specific imperialism whereby the English language has been promoted by colonialism and imperialism to gain a place of pride above other languages. The methods used were often cruel

to the speakers of the other languages and led to these other languages getting stifled and dominated by English. In fact, he refers to the eventual murder of these smaller languages by English and argues that this has always been a carefully calculated hidden agenda of The British Council and ELT. Now English dominates other languages in the world and it costs nations and individuals thousands of pounds to maintain this position. Spolsky (2004) is among the critics of Phillipson's theories and he argues that English just happened to find itself occupying a superior position to other languages. There is only one form of imperialism and language is a by-product of imperialism and not specifically designed to be promoted. Or else, he argues, this apparent success of English promotion should be a case of excellent language planning, more successful than that for French and other languages that have invested heavily in language planning with little success.

Kachru (1983, 1994) urges the acceptance of new varieties of English as 'Englishes' on their own merit without being compared to some standard elsewhere. He avers that colonialism and imperialism have led to English being indelibly established in some countries of the world. In the process the English language has adapted local flavours specific to these locations and speakers of these 'Englishes' recognise them as languages in their own right. Thus, they should be accepted without prejudice.

These three theories were used to frame our research in spite of the criticisms levelled against them because on careful examination, they capture the issues in the refugee camp education clearly.

Chapter four is the about the research process, identifying Critical Ethnography as the preferred methodology. I used field notes, interviews, textual analyses of written documents such as student's essays and observation as data collection methods. I used colour coding to classify the data into themes and later analyse it. I have also discussed the ethics, validity and reliability of this methodology.

Chapters five, six and seven deal with the findings from the data. Chapter five is about attitudes towards English, where it is regarded as superior to other languages for various true and false reasons. Its international status renders it very important but there are also ideologies surrounding English that manifest themselves in the voices of the refugee learners and those concerned with their education. Chapter six looked at attitudes to languages other than English in the camp. These are Swahili, Arabic, French and mother tongues. For each language I discussed the likes, dislikes, difficulties, value and use in education. I then discussed how the languages interact with each other to affect how they are viewed.

Chapter seven is concerned with taking a closer look at policies, realities and responses. I discussed how learners are expected to learn in English from Class Four whether they join the camp schools from an non-English-speaking country or not. Wastage occurs as many repeat classes and even go down several levels of classes to learn English and Swahili first. There are realities experienced by refugee learners too that have to with difficulty of languages, especially with phonology and the language system, cultural conflict, lack of resources, both

human and fabrics and influences from socio-political dynamics beyond their control. The result is absenteeism, and quitting or else devising survival strategies including cheating their ways into Windle Trust English classes to improve their chances. I also looked at institutional support for these students, pointing out that the little that is offered is much appreciated, but, indeed, a lot more ought to be provided to make available access for all learners.

Chapter eight is a discussion chapter, picking up the issues raised in the previous chapters and analysing them in more critical depth. Thus much of it is an examination of issues involved in whole language-in-education debate. Here I questioned how the policies were put in place and also the actual practice in the classrooms. I dig out hidden ideologies in the very attitudes of the educationists, that are passed over to the learners such that some come to despise their own languages or language they are familiar with for the sake of English. I queried the motives and practices of the aid agencies, cautioning that there could be unseen ideologies behind supporting only one language to the detriment of others.

I conclude the thesis with this chapter that brings them together and summarises the issues in language in education, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for further research.

9.1 Conclusions

To conclude this study I take a look at the research questions I posed to see how they have been answered. I thus examine realities facing the learners, their attitudes and responses to these realities, and finally, at the extra-linguistic influences to these attitudes. I must point out that for these attitudes to come out

clearly the critical ethnography methodology provided a suitable standpoint. Not only was I able to interact closely with the refugees in their homes, schools, markets, churches and indeed all sorts of environments, but I was able to allow them to reflect on their attitudes in a critical perspective, thereby helping to pull apart perceived natural language orders whereby some language orders have come to be seen as 'given' and 'no longer constructing a particular ideological line' (Martin 2003:4). I was able to get them to unnaturalise situations (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001) they had completely assumed to be acceptable even if somewhat disconcerting. Cummins (2000a) Transformative Pedagogy sets out how learning is influenced by macro-societal factors and ideologies that make education for minority learners an uphill task. Even though the situation in the refugee camp is not exactly like Cummins' (2000a) many of the tenets agree. In fact the refugees in the camp have different experiences from those of Cummins' immigrants. This is because they have to face up to policies adopted in Kenya because they follow the Kenyan syllabus. In addition, they have their own pressures that are determined by the unstable uncertainty of a refugee camp. These realities were discussed in chapter seven and I conclude them here. I start off by re-examining my research questions.

9.1.0 Realities facing the learners

The first research question was:

- What realities do the multilingual refugee learners face as a corollary of the use of language in their education?

The refugee learner faces a number of difficult realities in his/her study due to the language-in-education policy. Some are directly to do with the actual classroom

situation while others are due to extra-societal factors. First, many refugees find languages hard to learn, let alone having to use them as media of instruction. Some refugees generally are supposed not to be too good with languages. One teacher, a Sudanese himself was of the opinion that Southern Sudanese are not good with languages generally. To add to their weakness the requirement to learn English and Swahili is like adding insult to injury. I now examine the conclusions to each language situation that can be drawn in relation to each of the languages.

9.1.0.1 English

Many refugees interviewed expressed difficulty with English. Some are from Somalia where their former instruction (if at all, considering the war situation) was in Somali language, others are from Ethiopia where they used Amharic or other Ethiopian regional languages, others are from francophone countries, such as Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Their former instruction was principally in French and some also learnt their own mother tongues such as Kinyarwanda. Thus when they join the camp schools they are hit with the language question. They find a teacher teaching in a language they cannot understand and there is little hope of understanding as there are no teaching assistants to translate or bilingual language support assistants or EAL teachers. They are faced with the reality that they cannot possibly achieve much unless they drop out of school first and go learn some basic English from either the Adult Education Centre run by IRC or, if they are lucky enough to get a valued chance on one of the Windle Trust run courses.

This latter is not so easy either. Only girls are allowed to join the Windle Advanced classes if they are also registered in the mainstream secondary school,

as these classes are supposed to be for professionals such as teachers, doctors and others, to give them English support to carry out their duties. It is because of affirmative action to boost the female participation that this allowance is made for the few girls wishing to pursue their education. The boys are, therefore, faced with the reality that they may have to devise survival strategies and con their way into these classes somehow. Many do succeed as I recognised a few in secondary schools during my observations that attended my Windle English language Advanced Course.

Many students struggle particularly with the phonology and the language system of the languages. They expressed difficulties with pronunciation and accents. They also expressed difficulty with the nuances of English the language system as they said the way words are written and pronounced is not as straightforward as in their African languages. There were also problems with cultural understanding, for instance the telling of time in English, one could not understand why it is Seven o'clock in the morning and not One o'clock as in African time. This is basically because many of the countries they come from are close to the Equator and the sun, which is guaranteed to rise and set at almost the same, predictable times throughout the year, tells time.

Some refugees also expressed the need for language practice both oral and visual. They felt there was limited opportunity to put into practice the language they were learning. I had the case of a lady who was concerned that the English she had learnt from the Windle Trust courses was going to 'disappear' if she did not put it to good use by getting a job that would enable her to 'practise'. This can be

applied to a societal level too, concerning how to make a language be used in a feasible way. Moha (2005) decries the 'Do-Nothing-Policy' (Bamgbose 1991). In Morocco he observes that there are pronouncements about policy whereby Arabisation was encouraged by removing French from being the official language so as to create more space for Arabic and the Berber languages. However, in practice the government continues to use French in the public sphere and in many private places French is in full blossom. Unless official announcements are followed up with opportunities to use the declared languages in official contexts they do not get a chance to establish themselves strongly. The knock on effect is seen in the attitudes of the users. This is captured explicitly by Cummins', (2000a) Transformative Pedagogy framework whereby macro-societal pressures affect micro-interactions knocking on down to having either a content or disgruntled learner. In the extreme I find learners being excluded altogether by language-in-education policies manifesting coercive power relations (see Figure2 p84). Attitude greatly affects use of a language.

Studies have shown that it might be a wiser idea to let refugees learn in their mother tongues wherever possible before they develop enough competence in English to learn in it. Williams (1996) recommends literacy in the local language to enable learners to have a meaningful initial learning experience. Having compared reading in Zambian schools that go straight for English and Malawian schools that start off with their local language (Williams 1993a, b), Williams established that even though both countries' reading levels were very low in English after 4 years of English instruction, at the end of the day at least Malawian children could read their local languages. He thus recommends:

Rather than producing large numbers of children who have very weak reading abilities in two languages, it would seem that there are possibilities of producing children at least able to read in a local language, particularly if I bear in mind the heavy drop-out rates from year 5 onwards (i.e. it is more likely that children can achieve literacy in a known local language than in English in the space of 4 years). (Williams 1996: 201).

This extract highlights issues discussed in this thesis. First of all it raises the question of whether refugees that presumably are in a transitory setting such as a refugee camp should be instructed in a language that is completely new to them. Even though unlike the pupils Williams observed, not all refugees are in their first few years of primary education, I might just apply the findings to the first four years of their encounter with new languages in education. As I said earlier some refugees are already literate in their local languages, such as Somali and Amharic. Should their prior linguistic knowledge be disregarded in their education in the camp? Should they proceed to acquire further levels of learning in their local languages or should they go back to class one and start in English and Swahili? These are pertinent questions that have implication for refugee educators.

The other point raised is to do with changing policy. If a policy is found wanting and leading to wastage as many drop out of schools should it be maintained and lead to more loss or should it be changed? And if it is to be changed who should take the initiative? The recommendations by Williams (op cit) come with a rider:

This step could be carried out by extending the role of the present 7 official languages to make them languages of literacy and of instruction, in the primary school years. Such a suggestion would certainly need to be negotiated with local communities, and teacher's' organizations, and would also need careful political handling in a field which is still extremely sensitive. (Williams 1996:201).

This is an acknowledgment that it is not at all easy to change ideological standpoints. As the Transformative Pedagogy theory demonstrates, classroom practices form part of a complex system and macro-societal power relations overtly and covertly influence micro-interactions in class. Socio-political influences affect attitudes of learners to such an extent that the learner can be empowered or disabled /resistant. In late 2002 when the new primary curriculum was published in Kenya it was announced that indigenous languages were to be used as media of instruction and taught as subjects from Standard I to 3. Though this was already the existing policy it sparked off a series of agitated reactions:

Unaware of the fact that this had always been the policy, commentators criticised these proposals, observing that in the era of globalisation, school curricula should emphasise computer-based technology and English as the language of such technologies. Given the foregoing scenario, Mazrui's observation about the inseparable link between English and education in the colonial era- 'The command of the English Language was often used a criterion of one's level of education' (Mazrui, 1975:55) - does not seem misplaced in Kenya even today.' (Bunyi 2005: 146).

9.1.0.1 Swahili

As with English, tackling Swahili was a great challenge to many refugee learners. The majority of the refugees in Kakuma are from Southern Sudan and Swahili is not a commonly spoken language there. For most of them they had never even heard of Swahili as the situation in their country is so war ravaged that communication is very limited. To their utter disbelief they not only had to learn Swahili but also pass it in the Primary School Leaving Examinations. For many this really led to poor overall performance as Swahili lowered their grades. When they joined Secondary school they still found Swahili compulsory up to School Leaving exams again!

Many refugees found that they had to go back several classes down so as to learn these new languages in order to progress. It posed a huge challenge to many as their age was advanced and some were even married and had to attend school together with their children because of this language requirement. However, if they hoped to get a job in the camp and improve their living conditions, not to mention their prospects for resettlement they had to go to school and get a qualification. And for those that braved it many reaped immediate benefits.

A major reality they faced with Swahili in particular was lack of qualified teachers and basic facilities such as books that could have helped them learn the language faster. Many Swahili teachers initially employed to teach the refugees appear to have just been Kenyans that knew the language without any teacher training. When school inspection took place, as happens in Kenya occasionally,

many of these teachers were considered unsuitable and were laid off. This caused even more problems for the refugees as Kakuma is a very hard area to live in and few qualified Kenyan teachers are willing to take their families to live in such a hot, semi-desert area with limited security. Still, the problem of paying these teachers also arose. When I was leaving the camp at the end of my stay there were a number of Kenyan teachers that had just been laid off, not for the quality of their work this time but due to limited funds to pay them. The agencies in charge of education say the donors are fatigued with helping Kakuma as the world is full of new disasters, more donor aid goes to the novel cases, leaving the more established refugee camps stranded.

9.1.0.2 French

French is only offered in one school in the whole of Kakuma Camp- Bor Town Secondary School. There is only one teacher of French, a Kenyan. There are many francophone refugees that would be much advantaged if they could pursue the language they are so familiar with and boost their grades in school leaving exams but the places in Bor Town School are limited. This is actually a painful reality they face, as they have to lay aside what they are already familiar with only to start off with new languages.

Even where it is offered it is only an optional subject with one teacher and scarce resources. The textbooks were old and outdated and the teacher expressed the need for more facilities but these were not forthcoming.

And then the teacher also had to grapple with attitudes from francophone students who could not understand how a Kenyan could teach them French. It took some time before they were persuaded that one did not need to be from francophone countries to teach French.

9.1.0.3 Mother tongues and Arabic

Mother tongues are supposed to be used in the early years of a child's education. In Kenya, that means from Standard One to Three. In schools that have a dominant mother tongue it is supposed to be used as medium of instruction so as to enable the learners grasp concepts well before they move onto English instruction.

However, the reality Kakuma learners face is that of lack of teachers. Their teachers may not necessarily know their mother tongue so it becomes impractical for the teacher to use the language for instruction. Many are forced to quickly learn Swahili and fortunately many of those that start school from the very first class tend to have little problem with Swahili. For the rest, they have to learn Swahili and English, as well, since some of their teachers do not know Swahili either! So for those from Sudan if they are in a predominantly Sudanese school then the teacher has to make adaptations and probably use Arabic to teach concepts to the young learners. Woe unto those in these schools that do not know any of these languages. So the young refugee learner has a job of learning languages quickly in order to follow what is being taught in schools.

Unfortunately, mother tongue in education ceases at that level and I do not have students offered the opportunity to study their languages in school again. This is then left to the home or to local mosques or community organisations. Considering a refugee camp is supposed to be temporary and that these children would expect to go back home one day, this is a pity as many are orphans and it cannot be left to the home to teach languages when their 'home' consists only of themselves and, if lucky, an elder kin.

For Arabic it is indeed strange that Arabic is not offered in the camp schools. In the Kenyan syllabus Arabic is an optional language subject. If there are students willing to learn it, it is a pity that it is not offered as an option. Yet there are students from Somalia and Sudan that expressed the desire to learn it. Also Muslim students might also be interested in Arabic if it were offered as a selective subject as it is the language of their religion.

9.1.1 Attitudes

The attitudes toward the language use in education are discussed extensively in chapters five and six so I will just briefly draw the conclusions from the findings.

9.1.1.0 English

Basically there is a love-hate relationship with many of the languages in the camp. Students expressed appreciation of English, as it is gatekeeper subject for most of their future prospects. They love knowing it because they are more or else assured of getting the opportunity to progress in their education, which may involve even getting sponsored to overseas or local universities and colleges.

For this they would usually be expected to get a good score in their secondary School Leaving Examinations as well as TOEFL. They also expressed some ideologies to the effect that English is the language of development, Science and Technology and that it produces Engineers, doctors and other professionals. Of course I know there are doctors that do not speak English but then their world is so limited that they think without English one cannot succeed anywhere in the world.

On the other hand there was some aversion towards English with some students claiming it was hard to learn no matter how hard they try. A few also expressed the fear that the more they learnt English and spoke it the less they used their mother tongues. So they feared that their heritage languages were being muffled by English and that they would soon forget them.

9.1.1.1 Swahili

A few students said they appreciate Swahili. These were mainly Somali Bantu for whom Swahili is almost a very well known Second language if not mother tongue. Students that learnt in Kenyan schools outside the camp, for example those on JRS scholarships also expressed appreciation of Swahili. In fact, many of them became teachers of Swahili within the camp as soon as they completed their secondary School Education.

For most students, however, Swahili was considered a nuisance requirement by. This is because most of the Students are Sudanese and Swahili is a foreign

language to them. The students from the Great Lakes Region soon caught up with it as most of their languages are from the Bantu group and so are similar to Swahili. However, there was another challenge for the Congolese students that already knew the language-this was dialectal. Since they were already familiar with their own dialect of Swahili they found it problematic to learn a new dialect and be told they were 'wrong' when they wrote the Swahili they were familiar with.

9.1.1.2 French, Arabic and Mother tongues

Some refugees appreciate each of these languages. In fact there was a teacher that so loved French that he said if he was sick and someone sang to him in French he would immediately recover! Some francophone students wished they had the opportunity to continue their education in French and others from other nationalities also felt the same about it. They felt the francophone students should be given more opportunity to develop their French. The same sentiments were expressed about Arabic by some Sudanese students as well as by other students on their behalf. Mother tongues were obviously dear to many refugees and they would grab the nearest opportunity to speak them. They were also said to contain valuable cultural information that should not be lost.

However, in terms of use in education there was a general feeling that it was all right to struggle with English and master it so long as they are in the camp. There was one who expressed the view that French was useless to him since he is now in Kenya and English is the language in use. Others also felt that Arabic was only useful for them in Sudan and so long as they were in Kenya they had better

continue with English. The same applies to mother tongues which, though loved were sometimes considered as hindering the learning of English, considered as the more important language!

9.1.2 Extra-linguistic factors and ideologies affecting attitudes

The second research question I sought to answer is:

- What extra-linguistic factors and ideologies have shaped and do shape these attitudes?

The attitudes of many learners are influenced by extra-linguistic factors and ideologies. I need to analyse these ideologies and unnaturalise the discourses (see Martin 2003) in order to guarantee a viable education for refugees. Thus doing we need to begin to query covert situations whereby some language practices are considered ‘normal, appropriate or correct’ at the expense of others. For instance, Martin (2003) demonstrates how Iban, Dusun and Penan are marginalized in favour of English and Malay in a rustic school in Malaysia. The pupils have to endure an ideological environment that requires them to use languages fairly foreign to them as their environment is far removed from the mainstream Malaysian system. They devise linguistic survival strategies to understand concepts that could very easily be understood if a more familiar language were used. Martin adds the observation in Hornberger (2002:30) that, ‘Multilingual language policies are essentially about opening up ideological and implementational space in the environment for as many languages as possible.’

This is because the ideologies affect attitudes towards languages and may hinder one from learning them, if not checked. For most of the refugees the camp conditions are really hard to cope with and their dream is to escape this prison of sorts. The temperatures in the area rise up to 44 degrees Centigrade sometimes. Every now and then I would hear the ambulance ring as a child or adult was rushed to the hospital having been stung by a scorpion or spider or bitten by a poisonous snake. There is little food and water and life is generally a big endeavour.

With such a background any hope of escaping the camp is held onto with all strength. The refugee students know that if they work hard in their studies their chances of getting sponsored out of the camp are increased. They therefore find it, worthwhile to struggle with English, as it is a gatekeeper to their freedom. They have to put their personal preferences aside and learn the languages expected of them in order to survive in the situation they find themselves.

As for which language to include in their curriculum they {Sudanese refugees} really had no choice but to adapt the Kenyan system, in accordance with UNHCR policy. The Kenyan policy is in turn influenced by neo-colonialism whereby the systems left by the colonialists with the accompanying ideologies still persist. It is in such a setting that English is given utmost priority over other languages. This is unlike Tanzania in which the then President changed the language policy at independence and promoted Swahili, giving it superior status. However, we find that even in the case of Tanzania the international pressure of English is catching up and some parents think it best to spend thousands to send their children to

English medium schools. The discourses that surround language policy are therefore really non-linguistic and are socio-political in nature. Trying to change things is like swimming against the current and many give up and decide to join the rest.

The love-hate relationship for languages is also a result of politico-social influences. We see many Sudanese apparently inwardly despising Arabic yet using it for inter-lingual communication as they find themselves living side by side with other Sudanese from different linguistic backgrounds. They also felt the way to know the enemy's mind is to learn his language. Others still try to separate the language from the speakers and say the war is with the Arabs not with the Arabic language.

Because of wars and insecurity in their countries some francophone speakers expressed no more desire to learn or speak French, as it is 'useless' in their present situation in Kenya. Of course French is valued in Kenya but the refugee camp is located hundreds of miles away from the 'rest of Kenya'. It is in an arid place closer to the borders with Sudan and Ethiopia and communication is very poor. The refugees do not have proper information as to what goes on in the rest of Kenya. And some faced such trauma in their countries, especially some Rwandese that they have no intention of ever going back there. They said it was better to die than go back to Rwanda. For such, therefore, they saw no need for French.

Attitudes towards Swahili were mostly due to some questioning the utility of the language outside the camp. The Kenyan government does not encourage reintegration into the country as an option to the refugees. This leaves them only two options: resettlement or repatriation. Many of the refugees, therefore, learn Swahili as a matter of convenience to pass their exams but question the value of Swahili outside the camp. As they are on their way out, either back home or to a third country – preferably the US or Canada – they appear to have a compelling case for concentrating on English. Once more we have an instance where the unstable refugee camp context bears upon language attitudes and consequently language use.

Attitudes are also affected by administrative red tape. Some decisions such as introducing Arabic or increasing availability of resources and offering French in more schools seem to take ages to reach. It appears everyone passes the buck and the sufferer is the refugee.

9.1.3 Responses to the realities

The next research question I sought to answer was the following:

- What responses are, and can be employed to deal with these realities in order to sustain and optimise learning?

Some refugees are really hard hit by the reality that their education (sometimes of very high level, up to ‘A level’ or even college) that was done in another language cannot benefit them without their learning English first. They need to get jobs and

prepare for resettlement, situations that build a convincing case for competence in English. Some find the task too demanding and simply give up prospects of starting anew. I found a few cases of refugees with very high level of education in Amharic simply refusing to more-or-less start all over again in English. Nonetheless, instead of giving up as some do, other refugees devise a variety of responses to the realities they face. There is also institutional support in place to help those willing and able to get a place on courses offered. Those that are well educated and/or have a professional qualification are absorbed into the Windle Trust courses to help them learn English. Those with no idea of English whatsoever start off with the Adult education classes that teach straight from the alphabet through counting and help with basic literacy in English. After this they can proceed to Windle Beginners' classes, go on to Intermediate and then, if they do well, proceed to the Advanced.

After as little as six months some refugees find that their communication is well improved and then they can put their prior education and knowledge to use as they get employed in various professions. If one was a doctor, for instance, s/he can get a job at the hospital and help other refugees, as s/he continues attending the Windle Advanced English course. If one was a teacher, nurse or in any other profession they would usually be given some sort of work, if not exactly the same, at least related to their previous jobs in their home countries. There is no salary for these jobs but they do get a token allowance referred to as 'incentive' of about \$40 per month. Certainly, this is a pittance allowance but considering that at least one's skills are put to use to help others and one does not have to sit idle in the camp and be miserable, many do opt for these jobs.

For those still in secondary schools only girls are allowed to join the Advanced classes, which gives them a boost in their school work. The boys use all sorts of tricks to get a place on these coveted courses. They would, for instance, impersonate someone that was offered the place and went for resettlement or could not attend due to various other circumstances. After attending classes regularly it then becomes hard to send them away and so they get to advance their English skills.

The institutional support comes from various agencies working in the camp. Windle Trust helps with English language teaching, offering diverse courses. They have the Beginner's, Intermediate and Advanced classes. They also offer women only classes to cater for those culturally constrained from mixing with the boys or those who are willing to proceed with their education after getting married or getting children, so they do not have to compete for the limited places in the other classes. There is also the Community leaders' course to teach community leaders English so as to improve communication between the refugees and the administrators. Windle Trust also offers Courses for LWF teachers to help teachers and head teachers improve their English skills. This is the course I was helping with as a volunteer as well as with the Advanced course. It really gave a chance to the teachers to improve their skills in English because many of them were really limited in their English, yet they were teaching in the language. But there is such a shortage of staff that I had to turn down a request from The IRC that I offer English support to the teachers that teach Adult education classes.

Apart from this; the Windle Trust also offers scholarships to help refugees to access higher or further education in universities or colleges locally and abroad. In partnership with universities in Canada, the refugees have a chance to join the WUSC programme and get scholarships. However, for this they must pass their TOEFL and so Windle Trust also runs an English language support for TOEFL for the WUSC awardees.

The JRS also offers scholarships to refugees at different levels. Those that do well in school often get a chance to go to boarding schools in Kenya, outside the camp. These students end up being really good in English and Swahili as they are exposed to more opportunity to practise, not to mention better facilities and that they are naturally intelligent. The disabled also get opportunities to study elsewhere. The JRS also runs distance learning university programmes in conjunction with UNISA.

As these organisations are mostly charities and depend on donations I would urge donors to contribute more so as to sustain and optimise refugee education and make it more accessible and successful.

9.1.4 Recommendations to improve refugee language experiences

Our final research question was to do with recommending adjustments to policy and practice. It is:

- What recommendations can I posit that have implications for a beneficial theory of multilingual language pedagogy?

I have made recommendations to each situation throughout the thesis especially in chapter 7 where every reality was followed by a discussion of such possible adjustments. Here, I will, therefore sum up these suggestions and make the recommendations I believe would have implications for refugee education, generally.

As the learning of language has so much to do with attitude it is important to always find out what the refugees want before negotiating how best to offer it to them. On arrival at Kakuma Camp the Sudanese were the first to start schools and they more or less did what they thought was practical and adopted the Kenyan education system. In Ethiopian camps they had preferred the Kenyan system as it is considered solid in the region and there were facilities provided by aid agencies through Nairobi. However, the refugees had made one adaptation- to teach Arabic instead of Swahili. The agencies that took over to help with education could have consulted with them to see how best to proceed, especially on the language question. However, the camp in Kakuma was so big that the UNHCR had to take charge. Thus the matter seems to go have gone higher up to the UNHCR policy that refugees follow the education system of the host country. This is a practical and easier-to-administer policy on the part of the UNHCR, but if it causes such a problem to the students then room should be made for adaptations. I am sure if the UNHCR reconsidered its education policy there would be those willing to support a situation where such linguistic allowances were made.

If, for instance, instead of taking Swahili exams refugees were allowed to take another language be it Arabic, Somali, French or some other language they could still be allowed to get a specially developed, internationally recognised certificate of education. I noticed this was the main concern with pursuing education systems from other countries. The refugees said if they prepared for exams they might not be able to do them if their countries were at war and their governments collapsed. This explains the desire to adapt the education system from a stable country.

Another recommendation would be to use translation. If a student had done so well in French or Amharic, for instance, and they were already in sixth form in their countries, instead of going back to Form Two so as to learn Swahili they could be allowed to do exams in translation. All these proposals are not impossible, if one is really determined to help the refugees. This would be better to lead to empowered students as illustrated in Cummins' Transformative Pedagogy framework (see p 84). Community participation and including learners' cultural and linguistic resources in their learning lead to a more meaningful educational experience and to empowered students. I notice in the UK that a lot of support is given to students, even providing them with readers or scribes or allowing them extra time if they have special exam requirements. The Kenyan system is much too rigid and such things are not done except in severe cases like blindness or other disabilities. But EAL needs are also very real and the students may well understand concepts but be hindered by the language.

There are also situations in the camp where human resources could be put to more use. In the area of language especially, there are many educated refugees that

could be used as language support teachers or teaching assistants to help the new students comprehend what is being taught to them. The serious cases are those, for instance where some student flees war while in the middle of his/her secondary education in, for instance, Amharic, French or Somali. This student may be well versed with his/her Mathematics, Science, Geography, etc., and to require him/her to go back to primary school because of language is a great disadvantage and may discourage the learner. If someone from their community came to assist in language issues in class, then this student would be able to proceed better. Then in the afternoons he/she could attend the English language support classes and also make a personal effort to learn the new languages. The wastage in the camp due to students already traumatised by war having to go through linguistic educational trauma is very high. Some have lost the will to fight and need to be encouraged rather than making things worse for them. Doing otherwise is wielding coercive power relations in the face of hapless learners a situation that leads to exclusion of a high population and wastage.

This is quite in agreement with what Cummins' (2000a) says about providing education to learners in a way intelligible to them by supportive context. What better way to do this, if not in L1 than through language support? When this is provided the learner will be able to engage with his/her learning through the four phases proposed in the Transformative Pedagogy framework adapted from Ada's (1988) framework of reading (see chapter 3). Not only will they be able to exercise reading as meaning making (Williams 1996) instead of 'chanting' (Wright 2001) but they will also be able to develop critical language awareness and produce creative pieces from their writing. They will also be able to

understand their own social realities better and participate in changing them. They will be more critical and empowered learners, not just literate, 'good' people maintaining the status quo as in the 'banking' pedagogy..

Much as the 'native speaker' is a moot concept, especially with regard to Standard English it would still help to provide similar models to the refugee learners. Their camp context might demand this. This is another instance where the transitory status of a refugee camp interacts with language attitudes to come up with a situation specific to a refugee camp. A group of newly resettled ex-Kakuma refugees I spoke to in Kentucky informed me that they now have to take English classes to 'speak with an American accent' (WE personal communication, April 2007). In such a case refugees cannot afford to be over political about English hegemony unlike the rest of the learners in mainstream contexts in Kenya and elsewhere in postcolonial settings. They might insist on teaching their children their local languages but the macro-societal situation demands more humility as concerning English. By providing more electronic resources, especially access to computers and the Internet, a lot could be achieved to help learners. The learner would be able to access translation services among other uses, straight from the computer with little help. Especially for those that devise their own strategies to improve their language this could save them the trouble of cheating their ways into crowded English language classes. There are many unused computers in the developed countries that could most certainly be put to use in the camp. Radios and Televisions could provide oral practice as they hear more language-in-use from the media services.

The language pedagogy in the camp should be adopted to include a critical perspective by adopting the Critical Pedagogy Framework in Cummins 2000a. My period of data collection when I had to stay at the camp for a period of time demonstrated to me that the more educated refugees have a more positive attitude to other languages than the less educated. I found more positive attitudes and concern for linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) among the teachers and educated refugees than among the students and pupils. Even the teacher trainees still demonstrated deep biases including beating children that spoke their own languages. What I theorise should be done, therefore, is to make the learners more critically aware of language value and how much is affected by politics. Critical Ethnographic surveys should be conducted before the start of the courses. The challenges and conflicts uncovered should be played back to them and freely deliberated. Then they will be able to see any biases and prejudices they may harbour. They will be enabled them to see how much their own responses demonstrate deep influence from negative discourses and ideologies about certain languages. They should also be shown where these attitudes take us-how they affect our performances. Critical ethnography demands an awareness that is vital to their language experiences.

In my study I have tried to create this critical consciousness and the demonstrate possibilities open to their action. Many refugees were not aware of the deep ambivalences they have towards languages and how their attitudes are much affected by extra-linguistic, macro-societal factors. I tried to develop a response in them that Canagarajah (1999) demonstrates concerning his Tamil students. I tried to assess their own attitudes and determine whether what they said was what they

really meant especially when it came to devaluing their languages and reifying foreign languages, especially English. Many were firm on their need to use English in ways that suited them. For instance, my Teachers' Upgrade class disregarded some aspects of number and insisted on counting 'luck' according to their perception of this concept. Indeed, this was the appropriation Canagarajah refers to. Though it may not appear so, yet on deeper critical questioning their true convictions about their languages emerged.

Notwithstanding, there was a helplessness expressed by some. Many felt that they had to grapple with English and master it. Regarding their situation in the camp there was hardly any purpose in being critical of English dominance when it was the gatekeeper to their resettlement chances.

9.2 Recommendations for Further Study

This study has tried to look at language in education issues in the camp, how they affect the refugee learner, the responses, both individual and institutional and made suggestions on how it might be improved. I believe I have been able to contribute to the wider literature as I have explored language and education issues in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Even though I cannot claim generalisability this study is internally valid with methodological rigour and can be easily replicated. It can also be tried in other contexts to bring out further issues that affect refugees' language-in-education. I have been able to demonstrate that attitudes of learners are of increased complexity and change over time depending on context. Similarly there is no one-to one correspondence between attitude to a language and to the user of the language. There is ambivalence in attitudes especially depending on

contextual expectations. Mother tongues have a rich cultural wealth but there is a tendency for a utilitarian approach to language choice especially in temporary settings such as a refugee camp. The world is no longer divided neatly and in order to understand these attitudes better, a critical ethnographic approach needs to be used to complement statistical attitude scales. My message to the UNHCR and other policy makers is that they need to listen to refugees and allow initiative in order to meet their actual needs, especially concerning language in education.

Transformative pedagogy as expounded in Cummins (2000) shows an ideal approach to EAL students such as refugees. It recommends an approach that leads to educating the learner to be able to transform his/her life by relating curriculum content to his/her individual and collective experience and to analyse broader social issues relevant to his/her life. In highly deprived contexts such as refugee camps, however, this is an ideal to be aspired to more than a requirement to be enforced. There are so many challenges facing education providers and refugees that it is not easy to achieve the mark. For instance there can be a high turnover of teachers as some are repatriated, resettled or move away from the hard contexts. Nevertheless whenever opportunity presents itself principles of Transformative pedagogy ought to be applied to help refugees transform their lives if not immediately when circumstances change,

I now make some recommendations for further studies.

Due to the limited time I was not able to cover Dadaab refugee Camp, which is the only other refugee camp in Kenya. It would be interesting to see what the policy, practice and attitudes are like there, since the majority there are Somalis

and not Sudanese. Also when I completed my fieldwork in Kakuma one of my colleagues in the Windle Trust English support programme had just been transferred to Dadaab to start a similar English Language Support programme there. There was not language support and the education was much less developed than in Kakuma. It would be worthwhile for some researcher to find out the language-in-education dynamics there.

The refugees in Kakuma have developed a certain variety of English that I as a visitor could not understand completely but which the other Aid workers were very comfortable with and often imitated. For those interested in studying slang, pidgins and other aspects of languages in contact, it would be interesting to study this developing variety. Some researchers have been interested in 'sheng'⁸ in Kenya and I even saw a dictionary of sheng being sold on the streets of Nairobi. To such sociolinguists I suggest that they have a try at 'Kakuma English'.

The Somali Bantu struck me as an interesting linguistic group to study. They are excellent Somali speakers of Swahili and tend to be looked down upon by the other Somalis. I gathered one of the reasons was because their hair is 'hard' like of other Africans and not soft like the fellow Somalis. It is believed they are from Tanzania and in fact some received relatives from Tanzania visiting. Yet, they told me they were tossed to and fro as the Tanzanian government did not accept them. They had to go further down to Mozambique and it was there that they could trace their roots even further than Tanzania. Mozambique accepted them as

⁸ ⁸ 'Sheng' is a variety of Swahili developing in the cities of Kenya, mainly, Nairobi. It is based on Swahili and English as well as the different mother tongues in Kenya. I recently attended a presentation at SOAS by Dr. Mwangi Githiora on 'Sheng' in which he analysed the linguistic features of Sheng.

‘our people’ but said they were too poor to accommodate them. That’s how their fate came to be known by the USA and they decided to offer them mass resettlement. In the whole camp there was only one graduate Somali Bantu and he was the head teacher of one of the primary schools in the camp. There are some very intriguing sociolinguistic studies that could be conducted among these people. It is interesting that some could speak good Italian as they said their ancestors used to work for the Italian occupiers and so taught them Italian and this has passed down to later generations!

It might also be worth the while for someone to follow up on the refugees being resettled en-masse in the USA and Canada and find out some of their sociolinguistic experiences. Is there any advice they would have for the educators and fellow refugees in Kakuma? These would all be useful in helping to build up an enriching theory in relation to refugee experience and attitudes.

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APPENDICES

(i) SAMPLE OF STUDENT INTERVIEW

Following is a sample of the student interviews I collected. This particular interview took place in private in one of the Windle Trust offices and was recorded on a mini disk recorder. I have demonstrated how I colour coded the data under the following broad areas and later generated categories for analysis:

- Primacy of the English language and how it affects other subjects and education in general (colour coded pink) as well as attitudes towards English
- Attitudes to other languages in their education (orange)
- Difficulties with language in education (red)
- Strategies to improve one's language and the support given (individual, blue; institutional, dark blue)
- 'Quality' of language-'better English' 'funny English' etc. (yellow)
- Motivation and purposes for studying languages (green)

2) My name is Francesca Mani and I am a refugee from Southern Sudan I live in Kakuma Refugee Camp. I came to Kenya in 1997 but I did not stay for long in Kakuma Refugee camp. When I realised that I had a relative who could take care of me and after that she enrolled me in a Kenyan school where I continued with my studies. I had a difficult time there, especially with my Kenyan companions with my English. They used to laugh at me because I did not know English. I used to speak a little English but it was very funny. They wondered why I could not

Speak English and they could ask me what part of the world I come from. Because in Kenya even nursery school children could speak English better than what I did.

I did not mind because I knew that I had to work hard and stand out of the crowd. And this was in high school. I knew that there was a final exam at the end.

I got a lot of help from one of my teachers who was on teaching practice in the school where I was. We started from very far. Class one books which were three Readers. I do not think I can forget those books. Class one was 'Hello Children', Class two was 'Read with us'; Class three was 'New friends'. Then we went to a class four book, which was called 'English Aid', even class five and six.

After that she introduced me to reading a lot of books, which, these are storybooks and these helped me in my English and for my literature- literature and composition. And in the end I found that I did very well in my English and literature. I even did better than those who were in the school. I managed to a B+ and I think this was a B in English and a B+ in CRE. I have to admit that I did well in my CRE because of my English Language. And I would like to advise people, the other students that if you do not do well in English you will not be able to do well in other subjects. Since all the subjects require us to use English and most of the subjects are, most subjects are tested in English language. I would also like to advise that we should have more organisations like the Windle trust which are going to help the students improve their English and also maybe we should consider the students who come from Francophone countries, like Congo, Burundi and even Rwanda. We should introduce maybe other languages like

maybe French, even Arabic for those Sudanese who are less fortunate and ...also maybe Amharic for the Ethiopians. This will help to ...choose from a variety of languages other than just sticking to English which may not be easy for some of us.

To pass other subjects without English. Because not all of us come from Sudan and go through the system from standard one. Some go to standard, class eight and maybe they do not know English so it's hard to pass GHC or even Maths.

Qn: thank you very much. Was English the only subject you were learning at school or what can you say about the other subjects?

English was not the only language, I mean, subject. We had other subjects but I knew without English I could not pass other subjects so I worked hard in English as I told you I wanted to do well in the other subjects as I told you, and also I wanted to stand out I the crowd ...because those students they used to laugh at me, so I had to prove myself better than them and I defeated most of them.

Qn: Thank you. What about the language here in the camp. What kind of support do you think there should be or do you think they should use the other systems of education in the camp?

Ans: Maybe, I would like to say that Windle Trust are doing a very good job especially on English. It has improved a lot of peoples' skills in English especially the Sudanese and the Burundians and those from Francophone countries. Maybe we should have other organisations doing something similar and we should not

wait for only Windle to do everything in English. We should also have one to improve on our Kiswahili because it is also one of the national exams.

Qn: What about Swahili, how did you perform in it?

Ans: I did not do very well in Kiswahili because I think I took most of my time for English because Kiswahili is only one subject but English when I looked at my subjects each one of them was in English so I did not spend a lot of time in Kiswahili but I got like here in the camp I think a C.

Qn: That was quite good. I do not think many people even get that. Tell me what do you think about language use in education. What is your attitude? Do you have any ideas about the subjects that should be added or subtracted or are you happy with the way things are?

Ans: I would say that those who do not have English like those from Francophone countries they should have French. They have a hard time in English when they have an alternative language they could do but it is not provided for them. Also I believe that there should be schools where they could do subjects like Arabic, IRE (Islamic Religious Education). Instead of killing our Sudanese people here with English let us give them something like Arabic.

Qn: When you say you do English and Arabic do you mean as a medium of instruction or as a subject?

Ans: Definitely when you use it as a medium of instruction then others will also suffer. We have the local community children in our schools. So we can make it optional like a language and use either English or Kiswahili but I think English would still stand.

Qn: Why do you think English will stand?

Ans: I think English is a widely used medium in most countries. We have several countries either using English or French...with French so I think we should continue with English, as it is a bit simpler.

Qn: What about other languages like, Amharic for the Ethiopians, for example. Do you meet any Ethiopians in the camp and what do you think their attitude is? What do you think of the other countries with their languages?

Ans: Maybe we should also consider them. We should have a variety so each and every one of us can choose what they are interested in doing, what they are comfortable with.

Thank you very much for your time.

(ii) SAMPLE OF DIARY ENTRIES

Friday 24th Oct. '03

Visited primary 3

It is at the end of the camp-in Kakuma three. Children from Reception Centre, Protection Unit and some from Somali Bantu and nearby Acoli. Main concern was no kitchen for porridge. World Vision could not allow them to construct own

temporary one for the time being. Neither did they allow them to use the offered neighbouring parish one-must be in the school compound. Some children do not go back to school after break. Some excused themselves from class 'to go see if mum has cooked anything.'

Did you eat yesterday?'

'Our food got finished'.

Teachers agreed not to use their incentive to get themselves tea so as to 'suffer together with our children'. *I saw seven canes in the background!*

Class one: teacher Simon Wako from Sudan. Educated in camp up to form three. Then sent money by Journalist friend from Holland and paid his remaining season (forms 3-4) in Kolongolo Secondary school (which happens to be in my village!) in Kitale. Thus he got to know enough Swahili to make a Swahili teacher in the camp.

Title: KUUNDA SENTENSI (making sentences)

Sang me a welcome song in Swahili and then three localised kitendawili (riddles).

'I have my long rope- laga!' (the river)

There were two desks on which sat some of the older pupils, three stone and three mats. The rest sat on the dusty floor and kept shifting to find the most comfortable position to write from. One girl in uniform shifted three times and eventually sat on her slippers. Some tore pages from their exercise books and sat on them. Lose

dust is about 1 inch thick. The teacher went round marking. But he informed me that before break the class was so full he could not move around let alone stand!

A pupil corrected him on the date he had written on the board.

Msafiri huyu amebeba mzigo

Mchungaji huyu amelisha ng'ombe (past perfect instead of present continuous aspect!)

The Somali and Somali Bantu were the most active in this Swahili class- apparently they have an advantage in Swahili

Pupils were generally speaking in their own language in class' 'give me a pen, give me a pen'

He threw it at her.

After lesson (30 minutes), pupils line up for the teachers to mark their work outside the staff room. The class has 131 pupils. Class two has 145. We also have some really little ones who follow their brother or sisters to school and can be seen sitting outside.

What a sad situation without porridge in School three! Promised to have a word with the LWF education coordinator, Eunita, which I did. She explained budgetary constraints on the part of World Vision. But, hopefully, at the end of the year the kitchen should be completed, oven, fence for firewood, and all.

Otherwise teacher taught Std. One Swahili very well. A bit concerned about 'Amekuja' as opposed to anakuja! (wrong aspect).

Secondary School One

Biology Form 2A

Congolese teacher. Factors affecting rate of perspiration. Respiration is not gas exchange-taking in and out. Dictionary X wrong definition

'completely different of what is written'

'We can say that the rate of respiration change'

cheerful-interacted with students. There is graffiti on the wooden bars –'once a mon, kamzee'. The class is cooler.

'one minute-how many time he has taken in and out?'

'this does not need a lot of thinking-even someone who is sleeping can answer this question.'

'cell division, cell differentiation'-baby seedling-,

but old plant or old man –dividing only to repair and some little division

'You are fearing the visitor? (He) She will not laugh at you (self correction). Let me try-

'But teacher why do some people sweat when they are sleeping?

Basic metabolic rate (BMR)

Hormones and Adrenalin. That's all you need to know. We need to hide you some things so that you go and do medicine. Or else you think that you are a doctor now'.

And then staff room discussions on the three durable solutions. Queried me about life in the UK and other Western countries. Shared experiences.

Afternoon taught **KAELP**. Discussion-‘ If I were the Camp Manager...’ A very lively lesson, with suggestions galore. Not much on language in education though-is it not an issue to them or do they take it for granted? Resigned to their fate?

Went for Fellowship later. Afterwards escorted home. We discussed problems of red tape. The tank in Secondary School Two took a month to deliver and then already a week later not yet been put up. Meanwhile no experiments can go on in labs etc without water. We discussed School Three’s case and was amused when we came to division of labour. Each NGO has its portion, which we dare not cross. The new Somali Bantu School for ex. Is ready but there are no toilets. This is the domain of IRC sanitation so schools cannot start without them. We should not be surprised to find the toilets built and the roof left for World Vision! Also discussed how Sudanese love education –it is such a strong point in their favour. No matter what age, they still value education.

(iii) SAMPLE OF TEACHER INTERVIEW

TEACHER SECONDARY SCHOOL TWO-CONGOLESE

Qn: Which language will you speak in? Kiswahili?

No. I will speak in English.

My name is Wan Odet. A Congolese staying here in Kakuma refugee camp. I have been here now for nearly ten years now. Previously, I personally I am not fluent and my English I have just learnt it here in Kenya. I was having a BSC from home but which could not much help me. I have tried to improve so that I may communicate with people. Now I have learnt the English here. I have started specially with Adult Education and later on I have gone to Windle Trust and now I am teaching in Napata secondary school in sciences. I will talk about how I have been working. I have been working in IRC as a medical assistant; also there I was working in the gabion. I could not work as a teacher because I could not talk in English. I was just working in the gabion there with the erosion because no any language to communicate with.

Qn? : And yet in your country you were very educated?

Yes. In country, yes I could just work because I was already having my papers in French.

In fact here, in this secondary school problems which I have been facing here as a teacher, first of all what I have realised is, the most problem is to do with Kiswahili. Kiswahili, most of our students they are from Sudan and they are facing the problem of Kiswahili. When they are trying to learn Kiswahili Kiswahili seems to be very difficult and is not as difficult as they are saying but the problem is they do not have much interest in Kiswahili, after, after all they are going back to Sudan and 'are we going to talk in Kiswahili in Sudan?' But I have realised they have much interest in English than Kiswahili. Burt even though they have much interest in English in English also they are not improving well. Why

they are not improving well in English is a matter of base. They do not have a good foundation. Most of them they have grown here in the camp as refugees. Moving here going to Ethiopia coming back, going here and there, they are not having a base, good foundation, good education from the beginning so that they could improve.

Also what I have realised is the system itself. They realise that they are free. The system itself, the education is free. And though it is free, we know generally in Kenya primary or some areas is free, but the free which I want to talk about here in the camp you know they are receiving everything free here in camp.

Even if I do not go tomorrow to school still nothing will change in my life. So they are not serious students.

And then also it is the problems which they are facing. You may find a student is also alone as a size one, as a single- he is himself the father, the mother, he is also a student. He must go and look for what he may eat- this and that. So you find that this discourages some students in the school. They may come during a week two or three days, then a student disappears. Such things interrupt their studies, and once there is an interruption they are also facing a problem.

So, the students who have gone to the Kenyan schools down country we have seen them, they are performing well and there is a problem with our environment. You know where they are things are there and the system is a bit different from the one we are having here. There they are serious, teachers are there, students are committed, they are in a boarding school but here actually we are not much serious. We are also facing our own problems and if the teacher himself is

traumatised, what about the student? Such things affect also the life or the education here. And so the language Kiswahili and French one of other language must also be affected also. So those are the challenges when are facing.

Qn: How do students like or dislike these subjects; and you what subjects do you think should be added language subjects, should be added, should be removed?

To talk about change, first of all we are under the Kenyan government and for any change must depend on the department of education. And if they have to change according to the situation which students face. The situation in the camp I may say, a change can only be done on the side of initiation. How, what does it mean? I mean this if it could be possible, some student could try and make some trips. What I mean is, once students are in school, if you have to make a change, Students after being here, when they go home they are still talking in their mother tongue. You see now, when they are going home they cannot practise what they have learnt here. They speak in Dinka, or Arabic or whatever, and you find the system is also making the students to not perform well. If students could be in a certain system such as a boarding in the camp, that would improve the, would make change because they are only going home once so if it is Kiswahili or it is English all of them will start communicating in English. But now they are coming here aah, going home just outside of the compound of this school, they are just talking in their mother tongue.

So for e.g. Arabic, because most of the students are from Sudan so we also teach them Arabic because I have realised they are just talking Arabic but they do not know how to write that Arabic. No any student is able to write in Arabic, even

some of the elders in the communities. So if they could learn also how communicate or to write Arabic it will help them better when they will be backing their countries. That is an addition which can think about it.

Qn: What about French and Amharic

If you are to talk about French French is already here in the camp in Bor town specially they are learning French. For any student who is willing to learn the French class, just ask a transfer and go to Bor Town. But if also they can add French here in our school I think it will be ok, it will be ok. You know we have too many languages in the world, English and French, we have also Arabic but if a student will be having that base, when he will be out of school, having knowledge of French and English he will be a better student.

(iv) SAMPLE OF RECORDED VIDEO INTERVIEW

34) I am called Andrew Wamalwa. I am a Kenyan by nationality. I teach here French and Kiswahili. So Kiswahili I teach form one, form two and form three but French I teach form one, form two and partly form three. My last class is form three because it is a new subject. It's been here for two, three years. So, in Kiswahili we have a lot of problems, in Kiswahili. Mostly with the Sudanese, our friends the Sudanese. Sudanese, they act like Kiswahili is just a burden to them. Because back at home they are just used to Arabic. In their country there is no Kiswahili. Kiswahili is not even in their vocabulary back at home. So when they come here in secondary school they found Kiswahili is compulsory it becomes very stressful for them. They are not comfortable in Kiswahili.

Unless, at times we have students from Kenyan schools who are Sudanese. There are students here who are Sudanese who are sent to Kenyan schools. When they

come here in secondary, we find at least their Kiswahili is OK. So there is the issue of poor background in Kiswahili. The rest of the students, the Congolese, the Somalis, the Burundians, those are OK.

Qn: the Ethiopians?

Ethiopians have also a problem. But majority of our students are Sudanese, Congolese, Burundians and a few Kenyans. We also have Kenyans here

Mmhh

Turkanas and we also have a few Kenyans from down country

They come here?

They come here. They are here. We are teaching them.

How do they get in here?

They have to pass some test. They pass some test then they are admitted in camp schools. But they do not encourage Kenyans from down country to come here unless those who are unable like the Turkanas.

So generally the students Sudanese are a bit poor in languages especially the Sudanese they are weak in languages.

That's Languages generally? French, English, Spanish?

Languages generally: French, English, and Kiswahili

Why do you think they are poor?

I think perhaps it is because of their problem, back at home. They are not, it is like they are not used to schooling or maybe their education system.

Are you the only French teacher?

I am the only teacher

In the camp? In the whole camp

Qn: So how was it to start? What challenges did you face?

Firstly, I had a problem with the Congolese. They could not imagine that I had come to teach them French. When I enter the class, they found it hard.

Qn: They thought you were not good enough?

They were not imagining that a Kenyan could just speak French. You know here in the camp we are enclosed. Kakuma and down country, you know, is a far distance. And most of these refugees just stay here. They do not know what is taking place down country- the education system there. The schools that are doing French. They could not imagine that there are schools down country, which take French.

So how do you select? You select the cream?

We select those students who are able.

You know, French is a foreign language so at least you need to have good students.

What about those who want?

Those who wish, those who want but are unable, we encourage them, but we normally just pick those who can make it.

And are those who are able also willing?

Those who are able? Yes they are willing...but the problem we are having is most of them know how to speak the language. They speak well Le Français, but they do not know how to write it.

Again?

Yes, they have a problem with that. Orally they are OK but when it comes to writing...

Why do you think that is the case?

I think, they are used to French in primary level and secondary level. They are used to speaking French at home like when you bring up a child she can speak it but to write what she or he is speaking, is a problem.

Mmmh?

So they can speak it fluently but there are few cases where a student can speak fluently and write.

That should be odd because I presume French is the medium of instruction from class one?

I do not know why this is so. But I also found it strange that they do not challenge me.

They do not challenge you?

Maybe those who have learnt...you know there are levels like sixième class, huitième class there are different levels. So you find a student had been in a college. To bring him back to form two three. What he is doing in class is just average.

Mmmh! (Laughter) Jean Vier [the videographer] you hear that?

(Laughter)

Can you give an explanation for that?

I think maybe it is because most of them like the Congolese they speak it at home and pick it from their brothers and sisters and in the community and they are encouraged to come to school.

Most of our students are not willing to come to school, even these other schools.

When you say 'willing to come to school', it means they? What do they prefer to do?

Maybe they have other affairs to do, even businesses.

What about Arabic? What is the general attitude and feeling here about Arabic?

The Sudanese like to speak Arabic even like here in school it is like they want Arabic.

They are asking for it?

They are asking for it.

Why do not you bring it to them?

Eehe! According to our curriculum...we are following the Kenyan curriculum.

Arabic is taught in Kenyan schools?

In Kenyan schools?

It is an optional subject.

That's Ok but here there is lack of resources.

Resources! What about all those who were teachers in Sudan, I am sure they can teach Arabic?

That one is a matter up there. We've never thought of it.

You've never thought about Arabic?

We've never thought about it.

I should fine that odd because if the students keep on asking about it do not you have any feedback with the LWF?

We normally have feedback.

You tell then the students do not want this, they want this?

We tell them but...

Have you told them anything about Arabic?

Arabic we have not told them.

And Kiswahili?

Kiswahili we told them about Kiswahili.

What did you tell them?

We told them that Kiswahili is like most of these students they are very poor in Kiswahili. They want do not want Kiswahili. So we try to use other means to encourage them.

How do you encourage them?

We normally have like competitions, Kiswahili week, in a term to make it compulsory for students to speak Kiswahili. Try to encourage them. We have presents for those who who [signals 'higher' with hand]

OK thank you very much for your ideas. Thank you.

(vi) SAMPLE OF VIDEO RECORDED LESSON

12/11/03 Growth and development in Animals (video recorded lesson)

Teacher: Sudanese, Form 3C.

Teacher Profile: a teacher called Michael Kadul, a Sudanese refugee, took this lesson. He was very willing to help and in fact invited me to several of his classes but I only video recorded one as a sample. He started studying at the camp but due to his excellent performance he was sponsored by JRS to a Kenyan secondary school (now called St. Leo's Lokore). This is a district school, but since the refugee students who are sponsored are of very high intelligence and determination, they end up getting As and A-s thus promoting the performance of the school. Michael got an A- and has been offered a place on the WUSC programme to go to Canada for Microbiology with a view to studying medicine.

However, this means he is an untrained teacher and does his best with the limited resources to teach the students and even prepare them for their school leaving exams. He is well respected as his excellence is known among the refugee community and, also being young, the students appeared friendly to him and felt free to ask questions.

Setting: the class is conducted in an incomplete stone building with open window and no ceiling. Whereas this is good for ventilation in the strong Kakuma heat, it is also liable to letting in a lot of dust in the semi-desert sandstorms. The students sit on rough wooden desks, some broken, facing the teacher, who, in turn, stands next to a table, facing them. Students keep coming in as the lesson proceeds, apparently delayed from their previous lesson.

Teaching and Learning The teaching method is mostly lecture in almost monotone. However, he involves the students by expecting them to complete in chorus certain words, for example:

Teacher: When we talk about asexual reproduction means there is no fertilisation between the ovum and...

Chorus: spermatozoa

‘They will have external what?’

‘External gills’

He writes on the blackboard with white chalk but keeps on mixing his work on the board. Some spellings and pronunciations are, also non standard e.g. york for yolk and writes larva as ‘lerva’ pronouncing it [leva]. However, the students appear to follow this.. He, however seems very conversant with his subject matter,

hardly referring to the book dog-eared KIE book in his hand. Afterwards he takes questions and two are asked. He encourages:

Do insects also undergo asexual reproduction?

‘That’s a very good question’.

Growth in insecta depends on the removal of the exoskeleton called moulting

-At old age the fish does not grow in size

-Incomplete metamorphosis

-Growth and development in amphibians

-Nourishment from the yolk

I am, asked to say something and I complement them for being so attentive and wish them God’s blessings in their forthcoming exams.

I can hear the other teacher next door teaching, as there is no ceiling

Time is up so they arrange for another extra lesson-on Monday? Saturday?

They agree.